HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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LBJ Must Soon Decide

Should Kennedy-Khrushchev Letters Be Published?

From the Allen-Scott Report

A headline-making controversy is shaping up over whether President Johnson should make public the still-secret Kennedy-Khrushchev exchange of letters during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

This backstage debate, under way for weeks at the highest levels of the Johnson Administration, was triggered by the approaching deadline for implementing the Freedom of Information law.

Enacted by Congress last year and due to become effective July 4, this law requires the President to determine which of the still-classified documents involving the 1962 Cuban crisis should be published.

In preparing for his decision, the President asked Secretary of State Rusk to review the Kennedy-Khrushchev letters as well as the other "working papers" of the Cuban crisis and recommend which should be declassified.

While Rusk has not yet forwarded his formal recommendations to the White House, aides say he is against publication of the correspondence at this time.

In recent intra-Administration discussions concerning the letters, they point out, Rusk has argued against release on the grounds their content would "anger and excite anti-Castro Cuban groups in this country" and "cause embarrassment of officials who participated in drafting the correspondence."

One of the participants who conceivably could be hurt politically by release of the correspondence is Sen. Robert Kennedy (D.-N.Y.).

As a key member of the small group of officials that advised his brother during the 1962 Cuban crisis, the former attorney general drafted the letter containing the controversial "no invasion pledge" that President Kennedy made to Khrushchev.

As transmitted to Moscow, this concession—a guarantee that Khrushchev never formally demanded—reads as follows:

"If you [Khrushchev] agree to remove these weapon systems [missiles] from Cuba, we on our part would agree. . . . (a) to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect; and (b) to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba.

"I am confident that other nations of the Western Hemisphere would be prepared to do likewise."

Several White House and State Department advisers led by presidential assistant Marvin Watson have disagreed vigorously with Secretary Rusk's position and are urging publication of the Kennedy-Khrushchev exchange.

These officials have warned the President that continued suppression of the highly controversial correspondence could eventually be an embarrassment to the present Administration.

Castro is now privately boasting, they argue, that the Kremlin plans to let him release the letters "at an opportune time" to reveal the "no invasion" guarantee.

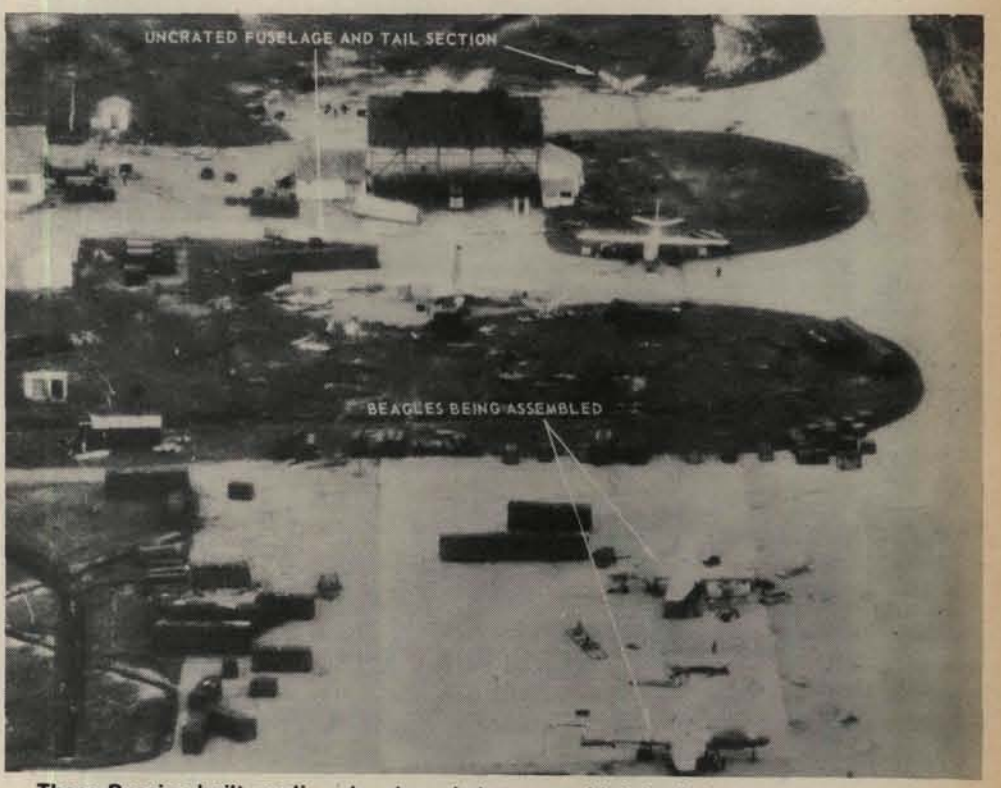
It is these advisers' contention that it would be far better for President Johnson to release the correspondence than to have the details first published in Havana or Moscow.

Republican members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee are also squaring off to push for release of the Kennedy-Khrushchev correspondence.

The GOP lawmakers will ask President Johnson this week to submit for scrutiny by their committee the extended "K-K" exchange of letters on Cuba and "other foreign policy matters."

The legislators, headed by Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), will stress that "on-site" inspection of the "K-K" communications is necessary to reach a sound decision on the full implication they are having on present U.S.-Cuban relations.

In discussing their proposal with colleagues, the GOP lawmakers claimed the closely guarded "K-K" letters should be released "so all members of Congress will know exactly what commitments were made to Russia and Cuba."



These Russian-built medium bombers being assembled in Cuba were photographed by U.S. reconnaissance planes during the October 1962 missile crisis. Because the United States entered into a "no invasion" agreement with the Soviet Union, Communist Cuba still remains a threat to the Western Hemisphere.

"Only by seeing what is in the 'K-K' correspondence," declared Gross, "will we know if the commitments made by Kennedy are still being carried out by the present Administration and whether Castro is being protected by them."

As previously reported in this column, Kennedy and Khrushchev exchanged more than 30 letters on subjects ranging from Cuba to the setting up of an international crisis commission to control disputes like the one boiling up in the Middle East.

In calling for release of the "K-K" letters, Rep. Gross and his GOP colleagues feel they have nothing to lose and a lot to gain.

If the President asserts "executive privilege" under the Freedom of Information Act, he must issue an executive order stating that the correspondence cannot be released for reasons of national security.

Republicans would challenge this as another Administration attempt to "manage the news."

If the correspondence is made available to the public, the Republicans plan to use the letters to exploit the Cuban issue in the coming campaign by emphasizing the so-called "credibility gap"—the difference between announced and unannounced policy.

★ ★ ★

U.S. intelligence authorities are warning that Castro is planning a series of military probes against the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo, Cuba. First attacks will be directed against U.S. helicopters which hover above the base and photograph the progress of Cuban military construction in the immediate area. In recent weeks Castro has built installations for conventional and missile-type anti-aircraft weapons within two miles of the base. Cuba's latest charge that a U.S. military helicopter from Guantanamo landed in Cuban territory is believed to be a prelude to these attacks.

At a recent State Department briefing Secretary Rusk expressed his concern about the increased Soviet arms shipments to Cuba. However, aides report Rusk still hasn't made any recommendations to President Johnson on what should be done about this growing Red threat.

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NEWSPAPER

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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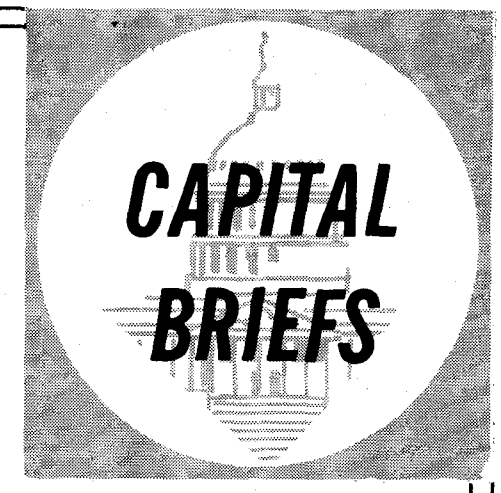

● Is LBJ about to de-escalate the war in Viet Nam? No one knows. But Vice President **Hubert Humphrey**, now openly courting the doves in both parties, was one of the first to congratulate Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R.-Ky.) for his recent speech calling for limited bombing of North Viet Nam and a phased de-escalation of the war.

● United Nations Ambassador **Arthur Goldberg** has told a number of influential officials in New York and Washington that he favors a de-escalation of the bombing in North Viet Nam.

● Chief Justice **Earl Warren** got the State Department to pay most of his expenses and the expenses of his wife, Nina Palmquist Warren, on a trip to South America, a House appropriations committee report has disclosed. Warren, whose government salary is $40,000 a year, got the department to pay the expenses of his wife by listing her as a "voluntary social welfare" worker.

● Sen. Thruston Morton (R.-Ky.) has been angered by a speech by Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) assailing LBJ's plans to expand **trade with Communist nations**. Morton, who would like to become the Senate GOP leader, has plans to "rebut" the Illinois solon in a major speech.

● Just back from Viet Nam, actor **John Wayne** has some characteristically blunt words to say to those who maintain that communism (particularly the Soviet brand) is mellowing. "I think somebody should take Sen. Kennedy and Sen. Fulbright to the forward areas of Viet Nam and talk to the guys and see the kind of equipment they're getting shot at with," Wayne said. "The boys over there know they're fighting communism. They are getting wounded with 7-mm. semi-automatic guns which are as good as any I have ever seen, and they're made in Russia. A lot of the other guns and ammunition are made in Czechoslovakia."

● Those **four jailed pacifists** arrested after a demonstration inside the Pentagon have been released after the government unexpectedly dropped charges against them. Shortly before the four were to be tried in Alexandria (Va.) Federal Court, C. Vernon Spratley, the U.S. attorney for the eastern district of Virginia, announced that the Justice Department had decided to drop charges. Spratley declined comment on the reason for the department's action.

● Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) is mailing out ***anti-Nixon propaganda*** to Republicans across the country. One of the latest of Scott's nationwide mailings was an article by Newsweek columnist Emmet John Hughes, the left-wing, ADA-type Democrat who keeps trying to give advice to Republicans. Hughes' article—called "The Reign of Republican Unreason"—pompously assails Nixon and suggests the Republicans who will probably nominate him represent "only their own prejudices and privileges,"

● With Republican leaders now openly opposing LBJ's Red trade plans, Democrats are worried that they will be shelved again this year. House Democratic chieftains are still nervous about bringing to the floor for a vote the measure to extend the life of the Export-Import Bank. Reason: Rep. **Paul Fino's Amendment** to block the bank from granting credits to Communist countries was only narrowly defeated in committee and stands a good chance of winning on the House floor if there is a record vote.

● Unpopular with his fellow Republicans and facing a probable primary contest in 1968, Sen. **Thomas Kuchel** (R.-Calif.) has managed to turn over a new leaf: He will support his fellow Republicans. Having previously failed to back Richard Nixon, George Murphy and Ronald Reagan for state office, Kuchel—who desperately wants to retain his Senate seat—has decided to scramble aboard the popular Reagan bandwagon. He now says he will not only support Reagan as a "favorite son" candidate, but insists he is "one of several potential [presidential] candidates who must be considered" by the Republican convention.

● The much-heralded **Job Corps** is having great difficulty securing members. Director Frank H. Cassell of the U.S. Employment Service reports that as late as a year ago his agency's 6,000 counselors were able to produce one male Job Corps candidate for every three interviews. Today it takes seven interviews. Reports of rampant violence at Job Corps Centers have filtered back to slum neighborhoods, making the recruiters' job "almost impossible," according to one source.

● Former Rep. **John Rousselot**, who recently resigned as national director of public relations for the John Birch Society, is thinking of running for the House seat in Southern California's 34th Congressional District now held by liberal Democrat Richard T. Hanna.

● The number of working days lost nationwide because of **labor disputes** this year is running a whopping 36 per cent ahead of 1966.

● Rep. **Thomas Curtis** (R.-Mo.) is seriously considering running for the Senate seat now held by liberal Democrat Edward Long. Long has recently got himself into hot water because of reports that he conducted his hearings against wiretapping to help out the Teamsters' Jimmy Hoffa.

● William Penn Patrick, a cosmetic manufacturer from California, is not only backing a **recall campaign** against Sen. Frank Church (D.-Idaho) but, reportedly, has plans to try similar moves against Senators J. W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.), Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) and Mark Hatfield (R.-Ore.)—doves all.

● A second **Hungarian diplomat** has defected to the U.S. Incredibly, Erno Bernat, the Red embassy's press secretary, was granted asylum in late April. News of the defection was kept quiet by Washington until last week so as not to embarrass the Reds.

● The following joke has been heard in both the Republican and Democratic cloakrooms in recent weeks: "Do you know how to tell when **Lyndon Johnson** is telling the truth? Well, when he goes like this [finger aside nose] he's telling the truth. When he goes like this [pulling on earlobe] he's telling the truth. When he goes like this [stroking chin] he's telling the truth. But when he starts moving his lips, beware."

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Apollo—Another TFX?

The congressional probe of the fiery death last January of three Apollo astronauts has taken some sensational turns and threatens to explode into a national scandal. James E. Webb, head of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), has been accused of lying and being involved in a conflict of interest by some members of Congress, the North American contract to build the Apollo space capsule hangs under a cloud, and mysteriously hovering in the shadows is Lyndon Johnson's former "strong right arm," Bobby Baker.

WEBB

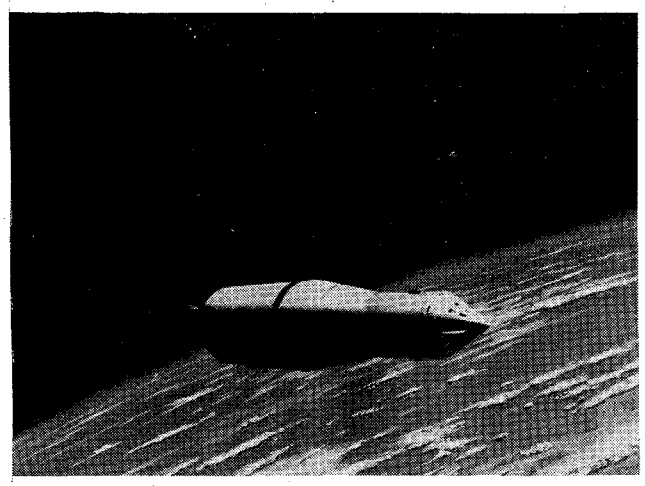
Not the least of congressional concerns has been the skyrocketing costs for the Apollo project that is eventually supposed to take a man to the moon. The program that NASA hoped would be completed for something under $20 billion has cost nearly that much already with the first moon flight seemingly still far into the future.

What has stirred the controversy more than anything else has been the curious antics of NASA's James Webb; Webb, in fact, has been caught on at least two occasions in blatantly misleading congressional probers.

Occasion No. 1 involved Webb's testimony concerning the now famous Phillips report. This report, which was made prior to the tragedy that befell the Apollo astronauts, contained a stinging indictment of North American Aviation, Inc.—the firm that had built the capsule in which the spacemen had died last January 27. Webb first denied such a report existed, then sought to prevent its release.

The report first came to public attention on February 27 when Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D.-Minn.) announced he was digging for it. A month and a half later it finally came out, but only through non-official sources.

Over several hundred pages in length, the report sharply criticized the "slippage" of the Apollo program behind schedule and the "inadequate systems engineering job" that was being done by North American. Named for its principal author, Maj. Gen. Samuel C. Phillips, USAF, program manager



Not only has the Apollo program a curious contract background, but costs to the taxpayer are rising far above original estimates.

for Apollo at NASA headquarters, the report also blasted the aviation company for its "continual failure . . . to achieve the progress required to support the objective of the Apollo program."

Occasion No. 2 in which Webb misled Congress involved his encounter with Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R.-Me.). On April 17 Mrs. Smith asked Webb about the selection of North American in 1961 to build the Apollo space capsule. She wanted to know whether this company had been the first choice of a source evaluation board which had examined managerial, technical and financial qualifications. "Yes," said Webb, "it was the recommended company."

But on May 9 Mrs. Smith pressed Webb again on the issue: Wasn't it true, she asked, that the source evaluation board, with 190 technical experts, had actually ranked the Martin Co. number one, with North American second?

Reversing his previous story, Webb acknowledged this was true, but explained that he and his advisers decided to overrule the board—much in the way the political "higher-ups" overruled the source selection board that picked Boeing rather than General Dynamics to get the TFX deal.

The New York *Times* felt impelled to comment about Webb's dramatic change in testimony and his revelation on May 9 that he and a few of his colleagues had overruled the technical experts and picked North American for the rich Apollo contract.

"The contradiction between Mr. Webb's testimony on two occasions would be bad enough in isolation," the *Times* said, "but against the record of these months of investigation into the Apollo tragedy, it strongly supports the belief that neither Congress nor the American people have been treated with full candor."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

from

INSIDE WASHINGTON

The *Times*—along with many others—raised the question of why North American was picked and stressed it "becomes even more intriguing than before. The cynics, of course, have always believed that the award went to North American as the result of a battle among influence peddlers, including Bobby Baker, former secretary to the Senate Democrats."

Indeed, the Bobby Bakerish aspects of the Apollo deal have fascinated Congress for some time. Prior to becoming NASA director, Webb had amassed a considerable fortune as a result of his association with Kerr-McGee Enterprises, a firm in which the major figures were the powerful Sen. Robert Kerr (D.-Okla.) and Dean McGee of Oklahoma City.

Official records show that Webb also became one of the top 20 stockholders in the Fidelity National Bank and Trust in Oklahoma City, of which Kerr was No. 3 stockholder and McGee was No. 1. Webb's bank stock alone had a paper value of $790,000 in 1962, and he continues to hold all of it.

BAKER

Particularly as a result of Webb's holdings in Fidelity, a certain chain of circumstances has begun to arouse interest. On Nov. 28, 1961, Webb, overruling NASA's technical experts, awarded the Apollo contract to North American after having been urged to do so by the high-handed Kerr, then the uncrowned king of the Senate and chairman of its Committee on Space and Aeronautics.

On Dec. 1, 1961, North American awarded a vending contract to Serv-U Vending. This was without bidding. The firm was operated by two of Kerr's friends—Bobby Baker and Fred Black, the Washington lobbyist for North American—and by two gamblers—Edward Levinson and Benjamin Sigelbaum. Serv-U, of course, became the backbone of Baker's financial empire and there has been more than a hint by GOP lawmakers that for North American to acquire space contracts it had to hire Serv-U.

Since the Apollo contract, North American has also begun to move industry into Oklahoma and has become a major depositor in Fidelity National Bank and Trust. "To say the least," noted the Des Moines *Register's* Clark Mollenhoff, who uncovered much of the above-related story, "it was a cozy arrangement that seemed to be highly beneficial to North American, Baker, Black, Kerr and the bank in which Webb had a large stock interest."

The demands for a full investigation of the Apollo contract have now sprung from such diverse sources as Senators Mondale, a liberal; Mrs. Smith, a middle-of-the-roader; and John Williams, the conservative Republican from Delaware. Representatives H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) and William Fitts Ryan (D.-N.Y.) have also called for a thorough probe. The end result may be the sacking of the curiously uncandid James E. Webb.

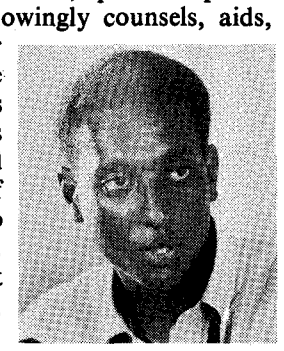
Law Prof Scores Clark

A prominent legal scholar has sharply challenged the viewpoint of Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark's Justice Department that it would be a violation of Stokely Carmichael's "free speech" to prosecute him for urging defiance of the Selective Service System. Dean Joseph O'Meara of the Notre Dame Law School noted the department's assertion that Carmichael had committed no offense, and commented tartly:

"I venture to suggest that what is lacking is not a violation of law but the will to prosecute."

O'Meara said that Carmichael and the Rev. Martin Luther King, who has also engaged in anti-draft activities, were violating two sections of the U.S. Code. Both sections, he said, have been upheld by the Supreme Court.

Title 50, Section 462, for instance, spells out penalties for any person "who knowingly counsels, aids, or abets another to refuse or evade registration or service in the armed services." This section was upheld as late as 1965 when the court refused to overturn the conviction of a New England woman who had urged defiance of the draft. Dismissing her argument that "free speech" was involved, the high court said:



CARMICHAEL

"[C]onstitutional objections have been met by the overwhelming weight of well-settled and unanimous authority. . . . Congress in fulfillment of its constitutional duty has enacted the legislation to provide for the national security; that defendant disapproves the congressional action and has frequently and vehemently stated her position on this and other matters of public importance lends no weight to the validity of her arguments. . . . [T]his is a sad case where self-delusion has carried defendant to the point where she apparently believes her own warped ideas of patriotism, interlarded with distressing racial, religious and political biases, can justify her in the crudest of law violations."

Liberals Knife Their Own

Rep. Edith Green, a liberal Democrat from Oregon, has been receiving praise from her conservative colleagues these days because of the way she withstood an Administration-inspired attack during the recent House battle over LBJ's elementary and secondary education bill.

GREEN

Though considered a liberal, Mrs. Green, a grandmother and second-ranking member of the Education and Labor Committee, managed to get the House to adopt two amendments to the school aid bill which increased state control over federally financed programs at the state level. Mrs. Green's proposals, in fact, were very much along the lines of those submitted by Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) but defeated in a close vote.

In offering her own "states rights" proposals, Mrs. Green argued: "The Office of Education now has 77 different programs which it administers . . . in 1955, the Office of Education had 55 employes and was spending $165.9 million annually. In 1965 the

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Office of Education had 3,198 employes and spent $3.3 billion.

"It seems to me the question we are discussing on the floor today is very simple. Is decision making to be transferred to Washington, or is it to remain at the state level?"

No sooner had she dared to oppose the Administration when five of its lackeys on the House Education and Labor Committee—all self-styled liberals—began to take after Mrs. Green. The two leaders, Representatives Frank Thompson (D.-N.J.) and Hugh Carey (D.-N.Y.), were joined by three Midwesterners, Roman Pucinski (D.-Ill.), Rep. James O'Hara (Mich.) and John Brademas (D.-Ind.).

Rep. Thompson, long an Administration puppet, at first suggested Mrs. Green was bitter because she had not been permitted to personally sponsor the Administration's bill, but he later had that ugly remark excised from the *Congressional Record*—perhaps feeling his constituents wouldn't like to know he was assailing a fellow liberal. Rep. Carey likened Mrs. Green to Carrie Nation, the tempestuous lady who waged a war against the evils of liquor by taking an axe to neighborhood saloons.

Mrs. Green was also under a barrage of abuse from liberals because Southerners were siding with her.

As she told Aldo Beckman of the Chicago *Tribune:*

"Too many people who call themselves liberals seem to think that everyone has the right to disagree on any issue, just as long as you don't disagree with them.

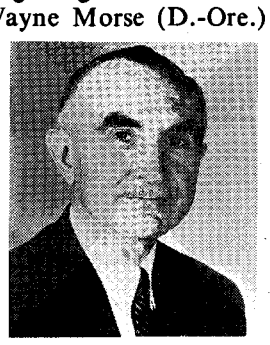
"I'm basically a liberal, but I just can't accept the theory that everyone from the South is bad . . . at least the Southerners are always gentlemen," Mrs. Green said tartly.

The education battle has not been her first encounter with self-styled liberals. In 1966 she led a successful effort, again with the aid of Southern Democrats and Republicans, to write restrictions into the Job Corps bill. Last year, for the first time in her congressional career, Portland labor unions refused to support her in retaliation for her efforts to pass the so-called "conscience clause," which would have exempted those holding certain religious beliefs from joining unions. She won 67 per cent of the vote anyway—thus demonstrating that lawmakers can win elections when they buck both the Administration and powerful labor unions.

Some observers are asking if Mrs. Green can buck the pressures, why can't that small group of "Republicans" who have so far killed the GOP's Quie Bill and put over LBJ's demonstration cities program?

Morse Molts

Congressional observers are getting a kick out of watching the antics of Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) these days. Up for re-election next year, Morse, in the past, has loaded the *Congressional Record* with mountains of material claiming the United States is illegally in Viet Nam. He has had kind words for Ho Chi Minh, warned that our unilateral actions might lead to war with Russia or Red China, called the United States the aggressor, suggested impeaching the President and even quoted Communist and Communist-fronters in support of his theses.



MORSE

Things are different in the case of the Mideast crisis, however. Apparently aware that his Viet Nam position has hurt him and that he has a number of Jewish constituents and backers, Morse has become highly belligerent where Nasser is concerned.

"In my judgment—and I say this advisedly," Morse stated recently, "Nasser's record of international relations and international diplomacy is characterized by trickery. . . .

"Therefore, any country that wants to protect its rights on the high seas ought to see to it that its ships, with their flags flying, go through the Strait of Tiran now. The best way to make it perfectly clear that we do not intend to permit a violation of our rights on the high seas is to respond to the challenge; and Nasser is not only challenging but is violating the rights of France. He is violating the rights of Great Britain. He is violating every nation in the world in respect to the high seas."

Aside from offering this bit of gunboat diplomacy for advice, Morse assailed the Soviets for their complicity in aiding Nasser and quoted—lo and behold—superhawk John Foster Dulles regarding our rights in Tiran.

Moreover, Morse rejected any use of the United Nations—the usual liberal refuge—to deal with Nasser's bid to blockade the strait.

"The exercise of our rights on the high seas," he said, "is something separate and distinct from a United Nations procedure for consideration of the threat to the peace in the Middle East. . . . We cannot allow any nation anywhere in the world—I care not what nation it is—to violate the rights of the U.S. flag on the high seas and postpone a response to that violation."

Anti-Poverty Battle

Bolstered by the showing for his defeated amendment to LBJ's school-aid bill, Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.), along with Rep. Charles E. Goodell (R.-N.Y.), plans to introduce equally sweeping amendments to LBJ's anti-poverty legislation. Quie thinks the current program is languishing and confused and, at the very least, is in desperate need of a major overhaul. Others believe the anti-poverty program is so bad that it should be scrapped altogether.

QUIE

Here are just a few recent examples of why many in Congress are fed up with this gigantic boondoggle:

• A former top assistant to anti-poverty czar R. Sargent Shriver has prepared an article for a major magazine blistering Shriver and his administration of the program. Shriver, the author maintains, has manipulated statistics, falsified information and grossly covered up the program's faults for the purpose of bamboozling both the public and the Congress into thinking he's doing a good job.

• Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity, in conjunction with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, recently doled out over $238,000 to a Los Angeles group called "The Community Alert Patrol"—a loose federation of black militants and civil rights leaders—to observe and record instances of "poor police procedure in Watts."

Even more astonishing is the fact that most of the 20 members of the patrol—already under fire from Mayor Samuel Yorty—have had police records themselves.

• Recently requested by Rep. Paul Rogers (D.-Fla.) to probe Community Action Fund, Inc. (CAF)—an anti-poverty program in Palm Beach—the comptroller general of the United States found that CAF employes were engaged in illegal political and union activities. CAF employes virtually registered Democrats wholesale and vigorously participated in efforts to unionize farm workers in Florida. Government investigators discovered that the wife of CAF President Thomas P. Hardeman had been employed by the AFL-CIO under her maiden name, Sara Cunningham, during the summer of 1966, but that the Hardemans were extremely secretive on this score.

Says the report: "We asked Dr. and Mrs. Hardeman to discuss whether Mrs. Hardeman had been employed by AFL-CIO; if so, the nature of her duties in such employment; and if Mrs. Hardeman did work for AFL-CIO, why she worked under her maiden name. Dr. and Mrs. Hardeman declined to answer these questions on the ground we could not show any connection between Mrs. Hardeman's employment and the expenditure of federal funds and that our asking these questions was an unwarranted invasion of Mrs. Hardeman's privacy."

McNamara's Wrecking Crew

The highly respected military editor of the New York *Times,* Hanson W. Baldwin, reports there is mounting concern among top military officials that the Soviet Union is overtaking the U.S. lead in strategic nuclear weapons.

Baldwin says one well-informed Pentagon officer, who is privy to all intelligence figures bearing on Soviet military capacity, insists that if the United States and the Soviet Union continue their present programs without modification, the Russians would achieve near-parity with the United States in the number of land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles by 1970.

By that time, furthermore, the Soviets would have also surpassed us in defensive weapons and the total weight of deliverable nuclear explosives.

"Many other officers," notes Baldwin, "agree with this interpretation and say that the number of Soviet land-based intercontinental missiles is increasing at the rate of about 200 a year, that Moscow is building about four or five ballistic-missile submarines a year and is about to commission a new class of submarine with eight missile launchers and a longer-range missile and that deployment of an extensive anti-ballistic missile system is still continuing."

Military men dispute as entirely misleading Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's insistence that there is little reason to fear the Soviets since we have 934 land-based missiles to their 340 and also possess four and one-half times the number of ballistic missiles that can be fired from submarines.

McNAMARA

Resisting this sort of "euphoria" about our nuclear strength, military intelligence contends that McNamara's mathematics fail to include the 700 to 900 Soviet intermediate-range and medium-range missiles installed on Soviet frontiers. These missiles have range enough to hit most targets in Europe, Asia, North Africa, Alaska and some parts of Canada.

Nor do the comparative statistics furnished reveal the trend in favor of the Soviets. Even civilian officials in the Pentagon, says Baldwin, "conceded that, expressed in terms of total deliverable tonnage of nuclear explosives, the Soviet Union has been steadily overtaking the United States."

McNamara is also at odds with the defense chiefs over deployment of an anti-ballistic missile defense system. While McNamara does not want it deployed now, Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has said that "failure to deploy" such a system has created a "strategic imbalance both within our forces and between the United States and the Soviet forces."

Reagan Wows the West

Conservative California Gov. Ronald Reagan has denied he's a candidate for President, but he's finding there's an enormous ground swell for him anyway. Now, apparently, he's being looked upon with favor by Oregon Republicans who normally lean toward the liberal side of the GOP spectrum.

Noted one Oregonian recently: "Is Ronald Reagan going to be a major factor in the primary? Six months ago I would have said, 'Absolutely not.' Today I most certainly think he will be.

"When he spoke at one of our Oregon party dinners a few weeks ago, he really rang bells. The other night on television he was terrific, he made Bobby Kennedy look sick. I can't help but believe he's going to be a strong contender here."

This prediction, given to a New York *Times* correspondent, came from a Republican who played a major role in helping New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller win the 1964 Oregon primary.

Such interest in the potential candidacy of Reagan is considered typical of other party leaders in the state and, indeed, throughout the West and Southwest. In the Oregon primary, to be held next May 21, all potential presidential nominees will be entered automatically. A man can get his name off the ballot only by publicly pledging that he is not a candidate for the office and does not intend to be. Reagan has said he won't campaign, but as California's favorite son candidate he has indicated he will not be able to withdraw from the Oregon primary or from the Nebraska primary on May 14.

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Financial Boycott of COPE

Reuther Reported Preparing to Back 'Peace' Party in '68

By VICTOR RIESEL

In the words of one of Walter Reuther's intimates, the Detroit redhead "is de-committing himself from Lyndon Johnson."

Some of the few who recently have talked with the embattled auto union leader report that he is slowly, methodically and quietly maneuvering so he can stay neutral or back a "peace ticket" in '68.

This would smash a 20-year alliance which traces back to the President's first Senate race. Yet the evidence of Reuther's defection is equally as traceable by insiders.

The Detroiter's first move was to refuse to pay his big union's quota of dollars into the AFL-CIO coast-to-coast political network known as COPE (Committee on Political Education). Generally, the United Auto Workers contributes about $100,000 annually, on the record, to COPE.

By springtime each year, the UAW has steadily thrown in at least $25,000 of this political action contribution.

But not this year. Not a centime. This financial boycott comes at a time when COPE is beginning early to whip into gear the machinery its leaders believe necessary to re-elect Mr. Johnson—in one of the toughest campaigns any incumbent has ever contemplated. AFL-CIO President George Meany, who gives COPE all the finances and encouragement he can, already has endorsed the President for re-election.

But Walter Reuther has not, though the last UAW constitutional convention ordered every one of the union's 1,264 locals to organize a Citizenship Committee and coordinate it with an area UAW Citizenship Council. In turn, these units have been ordered to organize—among the elders, the retirees and especially the young members—on a "ward, precinct and block-by-block neighborhood organization."

Couple this with Reuther's drive for "community unions" and one begins to perceive the scope of an independent national political machine which could swing into action in '68.

True, Walter Reuther has as many

UAW President Walter Reuther seems to be devoting less attention to union affairs and more to politics.

projects as Peking has wall posters, but these projects generally are reserved for his inspirational public speeches. He must be interpreted by what he does—or does not—actually activate.

And he has not ever endorsed President Johnson's Viet Nam war policy. To the contrary, in many areas his union and many of his colleagues have been in the avant-garde of the laborite peace movement.

And though one of his recent statements received virtually no national publicity, Reuther himself did take a scathing swing at the Administration. Early in May, in Florida, at the United Shoe Workers convention, Reuther said that when it comes to the war in Viet Nam, or any other war, the "reactionaries" spend billions of dollars with pleasure, but when it comes to social work, they give it a drop in the ocean.

This was reported to President Johnson, who did not exactly place it amidst his most loved collection of quotations. But Reuther does not appear disturbed by the President's displeasure.

Until recently the auto union leader must have been worried by any move which might disaffect Mr. Johnson and provoke him into closing the White House door to Reuther during the auto negotiations. These begin July 6. But Reuther and his intimates now seem quite confident that they shall overcome the auto industry "by October" without Mr. Johnson's help—and win a big pay increase for their skilled workers, white collar people and a guaranteed work year for those who now are paid by the hour.

Then the Reuther battle timetable calls for conferring with the AFL-CIO high council, making demands on this high command, losing this fight and then going to the national AFL-CIO convention in Florida next December. There will come the final conflict. The UAW, of course, expects to lose. Then insiders believe it will call a special convention of its own and pull out of the AFL-CIO.

Thus, by springtime '68, with a fat contract in its pocket and no auto industry negotiations to divert it for almost three years, the big union will turn to national politics.

With commitments to no one, with a "citizenship" political machine hammered into shape by his brother Roy Reuther, Walter can swing into his old flashy style.

But, the sophisticates are asking, for whom and for what will he flash?

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□ □ □

WILLIAM MANCHESTER'S *The Death of a President*—the most ballyhooed book in publishing history—is having a disappointing sale. Trade sources expected it to be the runaway best-seller of the 20th Century, but publisher Harper & Row has yet to sell out the first edition. In fact, thousands of unsold copies are being returned by dealers throughout the country. A major California outlet which expected to sell at least 2,500 copies has sold only one-fourth that number. "In no way does it match our expectations," the store's owner reports.

LBJ Asked to Call Up Reserves

From the Allen-Scott Report

Within the next 30 days President Johnson must either extend Army and Navy enlistments for a year or call the services' reserves to meet their growing military manpower needs.

That's the stark finding in an undisclosed report on these services' personnel requirements that Defense Secretary McNamara has submitted to the White House.

It stresses that one of these emergency manpower measures is needed immediately to bolster U.S. Army forces in Viet Nam, even if this country avoids new military involvement in the Middle East.

Should the latter become necessary, both an extension of enlistments and a call up of reserves will be needed to meet U.S. commitments in those areas.

In anticipation of presidential approval for the involuntary extension of Army enlistments, Defense Secretary McNamara already has taken several steps:

- A highly classified message was sent to all Army commands alerting them that a directive is being prepared to extend all enlistments expiring after July 1 for one year.
- The Defense Department's legal staff was directed to prepare an opinion stating that the President has authority to do this under either the Korean War emergency powers still in effect or the Tonkin Gulf resolution.

The latter resolution was passed overwhelmingly by Congress on Aug. 10, 1964. It authorized President Johnson "to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed forces, in defense of freedom in Southeast Asia."

The legal opinion was requested by President Johnson after Rep. Mendel Rivers (D.-S.C.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, inserted a staff memorandum into the *Congressional Record* stating that the President now lacks this authority.

Only if there is a declaration of war, according to the committee's attorneys, can the President extend Army enlistments as McNamara proposes. The same holds true for the Air Force, but not the Navy. The Navy enlistments can be extended under the Korean War emergency powers as McNamara suggests.

Rep. Rivers with the approval of a majority of his committee is now preparing legislation to limit the Navy's authority to involuntarily extend tours of military duty.

An extension of Army enlistments, without advance approval by Congress, will lead to a new confrontation between the Administration and Congress. In calls to both the Pentagon and the White House, Rep. Rivers has made it clear his committee will challenge the legality of the action.

Rivers' committee already has returned to McNamara as unacceptable his legislative proposal that the three services be given authority to extend enlistments indefinitely, without action by or prior notification to Congress.

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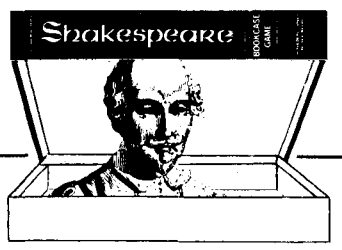

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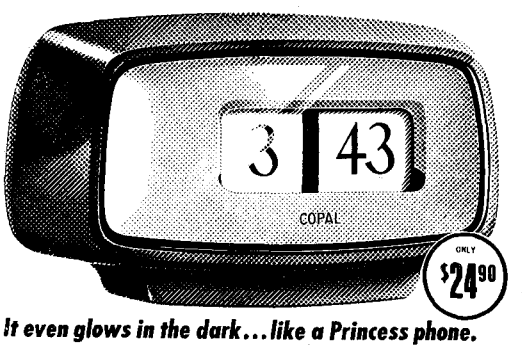

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The Tilted Scales of Justice

Mallory, Escobedo and Miranda Cases

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

The liberal majority of the U.S. Supreme Court has a noble self-image. It is impossible to read its indignant opinions without concluding that here are gentlemen who see themselves as forthright defenders of little people against the clever and the powerful.

To this end, and particularly through its broad interpretations of the 5th and 14th Amendments, the court has, in the past seven years, radically changed the rules of criminal evidence in America.

The key cases in this change were the *Mallory* decision of June 24, 1957, the *Escobedo* decision of June 22, 1964, and the *Miranda* case of June 13, 1966. The stars must be in great position for American criminals around mid-June.

Mallory, a confessed Washington rapist who was sentenced to death in federal court, was turned loose by the supreme justices on the grounds that too long a time (2 p.m. until the next morning) elapsed between his arrest and his arraignment.

At 8 p.m., after his dinner, Mallory said he could have committed the crime and might have. At 10 he said he did. The commissioner could not be located for an arraignment. At 12:30 a.m. Mallory signed the typed confession and went to bed.

The Supreme Court held that the delay violated the defendant's constitutional rights. A short time after his release Mallory was arrested for a similar crime in Philadelphia.

Danny Escobedo, a 22-year-old Chicago Mexican, was convicted of murdering his brother-in-law after he had made damaging statements to the assistant state's attorney, which were later admitted in evidence.

The court ruled that Escobedo must go free because he was not permitted to have his attorney present while being questioned, nor was he told he need say nothing.

For the majority, Justice Goldberg said: "A system of criminal law enforcement which comes to depend on the 'confession' will, in the long run, be less reliable and more subject to abuses than a system which depends on extrinsic evidence independently secured through skillful investigation."

But in the dissent Justice Harlan said the rule "unjustifiably fetters legitimate police investigation." Justice Stewart remarked that there is nothing in the Constitution which "requires police to give advice." And Justice White added:

"By abandoning the voluntary-involuntary test for admissability of confessions, the court seems driven by the notion that it is uncivilized law enforcement to use an accused's own admissions against him at his trial. . . . The right to counsel now not only entitles the accused to counsel's advice and aid in preparing for trial, but stands as an impenetrable barrier to any interrogation once the accused has become a suspect. . . . The rule is impossible to administer unless police cars are equipped with public defenders."

On March 3, 1963, a citizen of Phoenix named Miranda kidnaped and raped an 18-year-old girl. She picked him out of a police line-up, and he later wrote out a statement admitting and describing the crime. He was promptly convicted, but the Supreme Court set him free, again on grounds largely based on the Escobedo case.

The 5th Amendment says that no man "shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself."

The Supreme Court majority has decided that any police interrogation is equivalent to a "criminal case." This, Justice Harlan, Stewart and White describe as "poor constitutional law that will ultimately discourage any confession at all."

And Justice Harlan added: "We know that some crimes cannot be solved without confessions and that the court is taking a real risk with society's welfare in imposing its new regime on the country."

In the meantime, the incidence of crimes of violence is rising about four times as fast as population. City parks are empty after sundown. The streets of Washington are unsafe at night. Criminal courts of our great cities are so clogged, and conviction under the Supreme Court restrictions is often so uncertain, that reduction of the charge below that of the crime actually committed is becoming the rule rather than the exception.

Therefore, Sen. Sam Ervin Jr. (D.-N.C.) and 15 other senators have introduced a joint resolution calling for a constitutional amendment to forbid the Supreme Court or any lesser court from throwing out a conviction based on a voluntary confession.

No one defends the rack or the rubber hose, but the question is: Has the Warren Court, by its stringent restrictions on police inquiry, made punishment so difficult that the safety of honest citizens is in growing peril?

If the court is to be curbed, it can only be curbed by constitutional amendment. That is, if the court doesn't decide that the amendment is unconstitutional.

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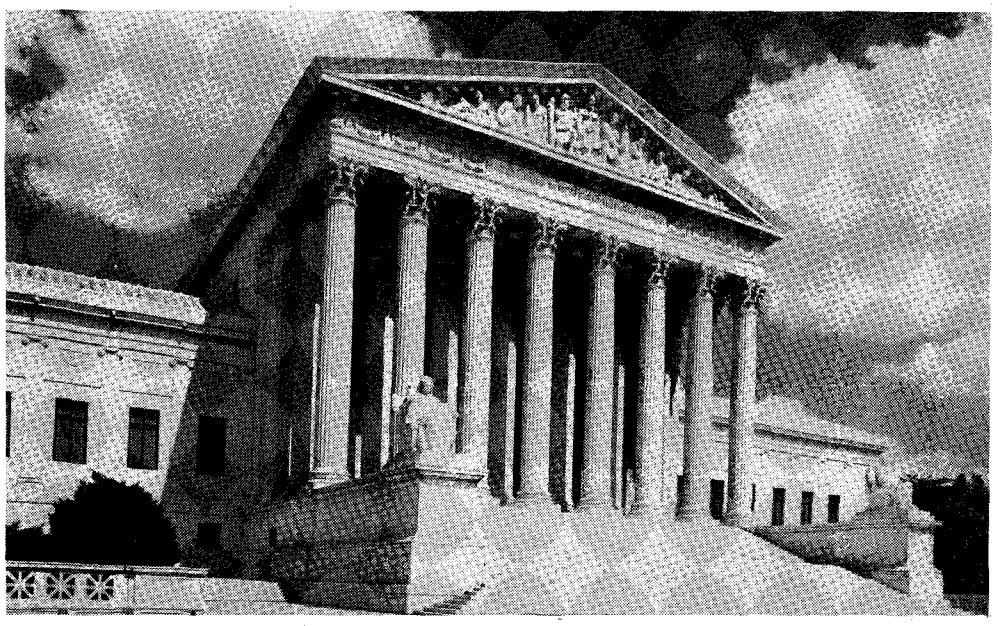

The growing crime rate, aided, according to experts, by decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court which seem to favor criminals, is rapidly becoming an intense national issue.

New Help for Alcoholics?

By RUSSELL KIRK

Mr. Patrick Frawley, the Napoleon of razor blades, automatic pencils, Technicolor and other grand undertakings, is striding into a new realm: medicine for alcoholics. The firms of Schick and Eversharp, in which he is a power, together with Enzomedic Laboratories have produced a pill called "Enzopride," which they hope to place on the market soon.

Enzopride, or Diphosphopyridine Nucleotide (to be scientific about it), is extracted from yeast. Its function is to restore the alcoholic addict to reasonable health by metabolizing alcohol and to remove from the body accumulated toxic by-products of heavy drinking. It is not a drug intended to produce an aversion to alcoholic beverages, but rather a neutralizer and restorative. Some $1.5 million was spent on developing this medicine at Shadel Hospital, in Seattle, and at Enzomedic Laboratories.

Mr. Frawley, a man of strong intuitions and insights, maintains that the Freudian analysis of the causes of alcoholic addiction is exaggerated. True, some people do turn to drink because of psychological disturbances. But according to Patrick Frawley, a cause of alcoholism hitherto neglected is the genetic factor.

That is, certain peoples tend to drink to excess, with disastrous consequences; while certain other peoples don't drink heavily, and don't suffer from what they drink.

There are almost no drunken Italians or Jews, for instance, and few drunken Spaniards. But in the north of Europe, harmful intoxication has been a curse for centuries. The Irish (from which stock Mr. Frawley springs, for the most part) have perhaps the highest rate of alcoholism in the world. Even the French are afflicted: alcoholism among French children is a serious problem nowadays, and the addiction to liqueurs among French adults is worse still.

Part of this interesting difference may be cultural in origin, but Mr. Frawley and his associates maintain that it has become a genetic distinction, whatever the early origins of the excessive relish for strong drink in certain nations. (I suggest that the virtual necessity, in the old days, of alcoholic drink in northern lands to warm the body in a time of little fuel may have been a cause.)

Enzopride will not alter the genes, nor will the drug make it safe for topers to drink all they like. But the inventors of this medicine believe that it will do much to redeem the drinker from the consequences of addiction—and to diminish the rate of addiction.

Apparently about 20 per cent of the American population are addicted to alcohol in some degree. (This doesn't include those who can take it or leave it alone.) About 5.9 per cent of our adult population consume 47.8 per cent of our strong drink! They need strong medicine.

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Part of Larger Plan

Should U.N. Have Naval Force in Middle East?

From the Allen-Scott Report

Keep your eyes glued on the proposal by the Kennedy brothers to have the United Nations set up an emergency naval force for use in the Middle East crisis.

This trial balloon was lofted for U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg with the backstage support of Secretaries Rusk and McNamara, and of presidential assistant Walt Rostow, although it has never been approved by President Johnson.

Senators Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.), and Robert Kennedy (D.-N.Y.), in separate but identical statements, called on the Security Council to authorize the U.N. naval force. Their proposal came immediately after United Arab Republic President Nasser announced mining of the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba.

Briefed in advance by Goldberg, the Soviet U.N. delegate, Nikolai Fedorenko, is privately encouraging the project, although making it clear the Kremlin will not publicly support the U.N. naval force because of Nasser's opposition.

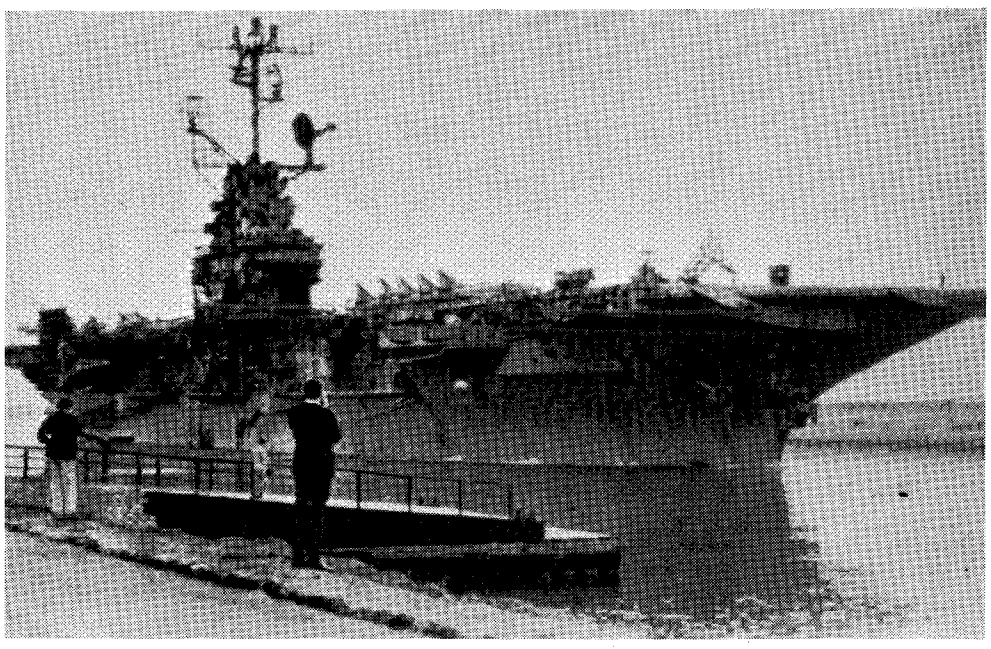
In proposing the U.N. naval patrol, its backers have a lot more in mind than just using it to keep peace in the Straits of Tiran and prevent interference with Israel's access to the Red Sea.

Administration insiders say the plan evolved as part of a longer-range Goldberg-Rusk-McNamara-Rostow program to create an international military force which could be used to establish U.N. authority over South-West Africa, now controlled by South Africa.

Under this program, U.S. warships and a fleet of fast deployment logistics (FDL) vessels would be assigned to the United Nations.

Since the South African government is prepared to fight to keep its League of Nations mandate over South-West Africa, development and deployment of a U.N. naval force could lead to an African confrontation involving U.S. military units.

This alarming possibility caused Sen. Richard Russell (D.-Ga.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and Rep. Mendel Rivers (D.-S.C.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, to join in eliminating



The USS Intrepid, a veteran of three wars, steams through the Suez Canal, ostensibly on her way to the Far East. Meanwhile, Soviet warships steamed into the Mediterranean from the Black Sea.

funds for the proposed FDL fleet from the Administration's $21-billion military procurement bill.

In sharply worded attacks on the FDL fleet, Russell and Rivers made it clear in floor speeches that they oppose turning over any U.S. ships to the U.N. for so-called "peacekeeping operations."

Rivers later cautioned the White House that the move to deploy a U.N. naval force fitted into the Kremlin's campaign to force the U.S. 6th Fleet from the Mediterranean. The Russians, he pointed out, could bring pressure on the U.S. within the United Nations to let the U.N. naval force replace the 6th Fleet.

If this Soviet maneuver succeeded, the Kremlin could then hamstring the U.N. naval force by use of its veto in the Security Council and continue to build up its own naval power in the Mediterranean.

Russian strength there is already presenting the U.S. with an ominous naval challenge, according to Vice Admiral William L. Martin, commander of the 6th Fleet.

In a recent speech in Rome, Adm. Martin stressed that the Russians had doubled the number of their warships in the Mediterranean since they began operating earlier this year from Egyptian bases.

The Kremlin's manipulation of the Middle East crisis was outlined to the House Foreign Affairs Committee in a closed-door briefing by Central Intelligence Agency authorities.

The lawmakers were told that Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko had arranged to have Nasser mine the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba when he visited Cairo in mid-April.

After the CIA briefing, Rep. Thomas Morgan (D.-Pa.), chairman, warned:

"The Russians are deliberately staging a diversionary crisis in the Middle East to try to tie our hands in Viet Nam. There are signs that the Kremlin is planning to set off other crises.

"The Russians appear to be controlling events and forcing us to overextend militarily and economically at little cost to themselves. We are always reacting rather than acting. This policy could be very dangerous for the U.S. unless changed."

Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.), who on May 3 predicted a Russian diversionary move in the Middle East, joined in warning of still more Soviet-inspired trouble.

In discussions with fellow-members of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Jackson reported growing evidence the Russians may touch off a new crisis in either West Berlin or Cuba.

Jackson noted that the new Soviet arms build-up in Cuba, which began in April, is continuing with daily arrivals of new shipments of Russian military equipment.

A Japanese businessman, returning via the U.S. from trade talks in Havana, supports Sen. Jackson's concern about Cuba. In information passed to the CIA, this industrialist quoted a high Cuban official as saying the U.S. will be forced to give up the naval base at Guantanamo Bay before the end of 1967.

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New Red Front

By VICTOR LASKY

A new pro-Communist front has been announced in the Communist *Worker*. Called the Tri-Continental Information Center (TCIC), its object is to circulate information "about U.S. interference in progressive movements throughout the world." Headquarters have been established in New York.

According to Michael Myerson, its director, the center's sponsors include Herbert Aptheker, head of the American Institute for Marxist Studies; Franklin Alexander, national chairman of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs; Donna Allen, of Women Strike for Peace; M.S. Arnoni, editor of *The Minority of One;* Alvah Bessie, of the Hollywood 10; Carl Bloice, of the *Worker;* literary critic Maxwell Geisman and the Rev. Willard Uphaus.

"A big part of our job is to counter the CIA," said Myerson.

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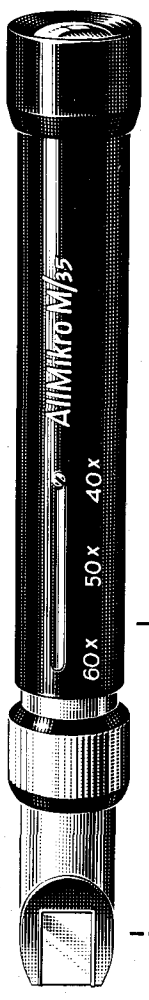

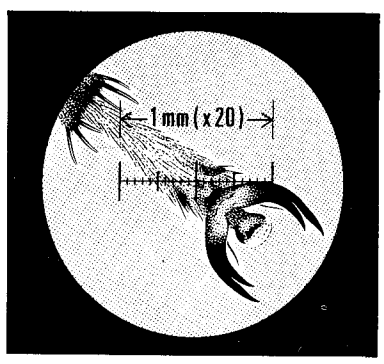

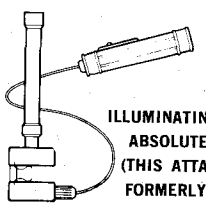

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Should We Replace the Electoral College?

Reform of the Electoral College method of selecting U.S. Presidents has been a subject of debate almost since the time Rep. William Smith, a South Carolina Democrat, proposed the first reform measure in the 1797 Congress. Southern conservatives, Northern liberals, Republicans and Democrats, all have had—and still have—their ideas on just what should be done to "improve" our system of choosing a Chief Executive.

After a century and a half of debate it now appears that action on this subject may soon replace the torrent of words. Resolutions have been introduced in Congress proposing several alternatives to the Electoral College, out of which have come four major plans that have attracted the most attention and congressional supporters. Of course, since reform of the present electoral system will be embodied in a constitutional amendment, any plan finally adopted by Congress must be approved by two-thirds of the state legislatures; therefore, no new plan could go into effect before the presidential elections of 1972.

The main point is, however, that debate on the subject of reform has reached the point where it seems very likely Congress will recommend some change.

The current wave of reformist sentiment was kicked off by a study of the Electoral College conducted by a special 15-member commission of the American Bar Association and released in early January 1967. "The Electoral College method of electing a President of the United States," the report said bluntly, "is archaic, undemocratic, complex, ambiguous, indirect and dangerous."

The ABA proceeded to back a constitutional amendment completely abolishing the Electoral College, substituting direct popular election of the President and vice president. The ABA direct election proposal had one qualification which would act to reduce the influence of third-party candidacies: The winning presidential candidate must receive at least 40 per cent of the popular vote; if no candidate received this percentage, there would be provision for a national run-off election between the two top vote-getters.

The 40 per cent requirement, the ABA report explained, "would encourage factions and splinter groups to operate, as now, within the framework of the major parties, since only a major candidate would be in a position to obtain such a vote. At present, third parties have the power to 'tip the balance' in a relatively close election by drawing crucial votes from a candidate."

The ABA's proposal was quickly incorporated in a Senate resolution by Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.), congressional hearings were scheduled and the debate, once again, was on. In quick order a total of 10 proposed reform amendments was introduced in the Senate (similar measures were also proposed in the House), with backers ranging from liberal Democrat Wayne Morse (Ore.) to conservative Republican John Tower (Tex.).

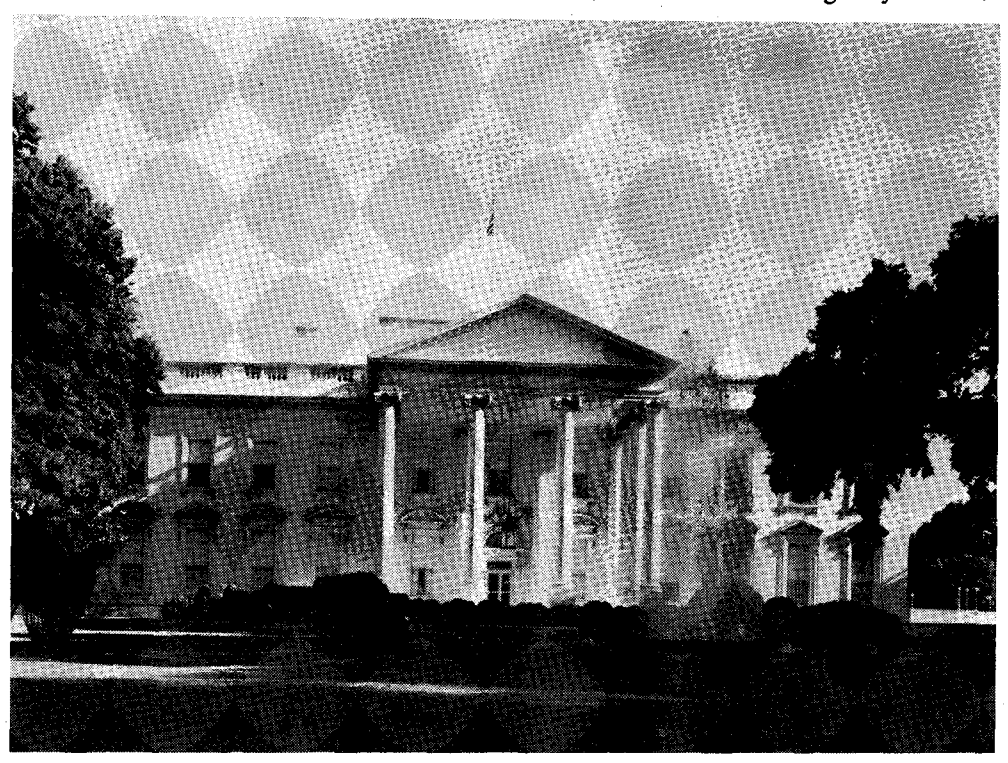
The liberal-conservative concurrence that *something* should be done (while disagreeing on just what) was also reflected in the testimony heard by the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments which, in the same day, heard Senate Administration spokesman and Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (Mont.) support the direct election plan as "much more equitable," and conservative oil millionaire H.L. Hunt give his backing to a proposal commonly known as the "District Plan."

The diversity of the backers of the Senate resolutions and of the subcommittee's witnesses indicates how broadly desire for Electoral College reform cuts across party and ideological lines. While conservatives have frequently charged liberals with undue tampering with the U.S. Constitution, and the Left has shot back that the Right wanted to "live in the past," in this one instance many persons on both sides agree that the system of presidential elections established by the Founding Fathers might well need a little updating.

When the framers of the Constitution sat in Philadelphia hammering out the document to govern the new nation, their decision to establish an Electoral College system had two motivating factors: (1) Since the rest of the Constitution's federal system gave a great deal of power to smaller states (because of the Senate, state legislatures, etc.), the Electoral College was devised to grant larger states, with their cities, minority groups and other interests, a strong voice in determining the Chief Executive; (2) Fearful of total democracy, a close kin of "mobocracy," the Founding Fathers came up with a system whereby the people themselves would not elect their President, but would instead vote for electors—theoretically, men of sound judgment and sterling ideals—who would, in turn, cast the votes of the people in an atmosphere (again, theoretical) devoid of passion and demagoguery.

In these modern times, however, these two justifications for the Electoral College appear much less persuasive. For one thing, metropolitan areas are fast assuming a commanding position in determining legislation, a tendency the Supreme Court's "one-man, one-vote" decisions will only accelerate. Equally important, the "buffer" concept has all but disappeared. Electors, since they now almost always run pledged to one candidate, have little opportunity to exercise judgment or idealism. True, some states have run "unpledged" electors and in several recent cases electors have voted for a candidate other than the one receiving their state's plurality of votes, but these occurrences offer another criticism of the Electoral College: Is it fair that there be no guarantee that the candidate winning a state will receive that state's electoral votes?

Another reason offered for reform of the Electoral College is the seeming inequity which occurs when a state's entire electoral vote (its total number of House and Senate seats) goes to the candidate winning the most popular votes, no matter if he defeated his nearest opponent in that state by only one vote or by one million. The present Constitution also provides that if no candidate gets a majority of the electoral vote, the contest goes to the House of Representatives where each state's delegation has but one vote; opponents of the system argue that a House election could result in a wheeling-and-dealing circus where nothing would be assured, and that allocating only one vote to each state is a gross injustice.



Giving one electoral vote to each congressional district is one new method proposed for choosing an occupant for the White House.

One last objection to the Electoral College method concerns the election of "minority" Presidents, with 14 such Chief Executives (12 different individuals) having been elected in U.S. history.

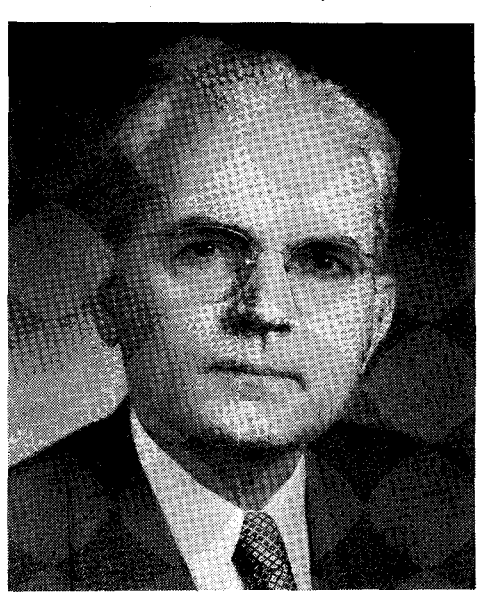
A minority President is, simply, one who receives less than 50 per cent of the popular vote.

The first minority Chief Executive was John Quincy Adams, who in 1924 came in second to Andrew Jackson in both popular vote and the Electoral College balloting; because Jackson did not have a majority of the electoral votes, however, a special House decision was called for, and Adams was elected.

The most famous case of a clear-cut minority victory occurred in 1876, when Democrat Samuel J. Tilden received 50.93 per cent of the popular vote and held an apparently conclusive edge in the Electoral College; 19 electoral votes were challenged by the Republicans, a special commission investigated and after several deals were made the votes were awarded to the GOP's Rutherford B. Hayes, who was then the winner by one electoral ballot, 185 to 184.

In another twist of fate, in 1888 incumbent President Grover Cleveland led Benjamin Harrison, 48.64 per cent to 47.81, in the popular vote, but, having lost New York, he finished second best in the Electoral College.

Recent Chief Executives who have been elected with less than a popular majority but with an electoral vote edge include Harry Truman, with a 1948 total of 49.51 per cent, and John F. Kennedy, who in 1960 garnered 49.71 per cent of the popular vote and won in the Electoral College, 303 to 219. A shift of only 11,874 votes in Illinois, Missouri, Hawaii, New Mexico and



Conservative opinion on the electoral college is not united. For example, Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.), left, is the leading proponent of the District Plan; Sen. Spessard Holland (D.-Fla.) backs the Proportional Plan; and Sen. Jack Miller (R.-Iowa) wants Direct Elections.

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Nevada would have given Vice President Richard Nixon the 1960 victory, while a total shift of only 9,479 votes in the first three states would have thrown the election into the House, since Nixon would have then led Kennedy by the inconclusive margin of 262 to 260. In such a case, the 15 "unpledged" electoral votes cast in 1960 for Sen. Harry F. Byrd would have represented the balance of power.

Despite the scope of these Electoral College criticisms, those who uphold the present constitutional system also offer convincing arguments.

The system has, they note, worked successfully since the Constitution took effect in 1789 and in all this time, only three truly minority Presidents (Adams, Hayes and Harrison) have taken office.

In debating the merits of the direct election proposal particularly, the defenders of the Electoral College uphold the federal system of government by pointing out that direct balloting would result in millions of votes having the same value, whereas in the present method each state, no matter how small, has a distinct voice and influence in selecting a president. Also, they argue, the electoral system helps to counterbalance the legislative and executive branches of government by giving them differing electoral bases, a delicate balance which might be upset if some other method replaced the Electoral College.

Considering the merit of these arguments, pro and con, and the plethora of remedies introduced in Congress, it is little wonder that the American Bar Association's report openly acknowledged that "there may be no perfect method of electing a President." Yet, still seeking this elusive perfection, several U.S. senators have produced four major plans to substitute for the Electoral College. Briefly summarized, these proposals are:

The District Plan. Introduced by Sen. Karl Mundt, this plan would appear to incorporate the most attractive features of the federal system and would bring reform to the Electoral College. Under this plan, rather than have one candidate take all a state's electoral votes, a candidate would get one electoral vote for each congressional district he carried in a state and the two at-large electors would go to the candidate carrying the state. Therefore, the District Plan would abolish the present winner-take-all formula and split the electoral vote along lines similar to the way congressional delegations (representatives and two senators) are presently shared by the two parties.

Under the District Plan an absolute majority of electoral votes nationwide would be necessary for election; if no candidate received 50 per cent of the total vote a joint session of Congress would pick the President from among the three leading contenders. If this voting proceeded as far as five ballots, the choice on that vote would be between only the two persons who had the most votes on the fourth ballot.

Had the District Plan been in effect in 1960, Nixon would have defeated Kennedy, 280 to 254, but the results of every other 20th Century presidential election would have been the same. Presumably, however, campaign approaches would differ under the District Plan, with rural districts getting as much candidate attention as metropolitan areas.

The following arguments have been made in favor of the District Plan:

- Popular vote results would be more accurately reflected in the electoral vote by having rural voters represented by electors alongside city electors, each having equal influence.
- Minority parties in one-party states would be encouraged to try to carry one or more individual districts, whereas now they must either attempt to carry the whole state or forget it.
- The power of large states, which have swung many close elections, would be reduced.
- Electors would be instructed to vote for the candidate receiving a plurality in their areas, and could not become mavericks.
- With one electoral vote going to the winner in each district, there would undoubtedly be greater voter turnout and party participation.

Also, the power of militant minorities, all too often actually small minorities within minority groups, would be reduced under the District Plan, since they would be able to provide majorities or balance the power in only a handful of districts.

Small states would, through retention of the two at-large votes per state, continue to have at least a minimum influence in the Electoral College; by reducing the excessive power of the larger states, the District Plan would increase the power of the smaller states proportionately. For example, California's electoral votes might be divided 22 to 18 in favor of candidate X over candidate Y, while Delaware, with a relatively minimal influence, might cast its 3 electoral votes for candidate Y; thus, combining these two states, Y is only behind by one vote, rather than by 37 as he would be under the present system.

Opponents of the District Plan argue that:

- The popular vote would still not be truly reflected.
- Campaigning might be concentrated on marginal or swing districts, with areas "solid" for any one party ignored.
- Third parties might succeed in winning enough districts to cause a stalemate in the Electoral College.
- If electors voted for persons other than those to whom they are pledged, their votes would not be counted and would represent a loss to the candidate.

District Election Plan. Sen. Bayh's proposal incorporates the essence of the American Bar Association's suggestion, including the requirement that candidates receive at least 40 per cent of the vote or else a run-off is held. Proponents of this plan, and in the Senate they range from Sen. Joe Clark (D.-Pa.) to Sen. Jack Miller (R.-Iowa), argue first and foremost that a direct election would be the most (if not the only) accurate reflection of popular opinion, with each eligible voter having a direct hand in the selection of his Chief Executive and having exactly as much influence as every other voter.

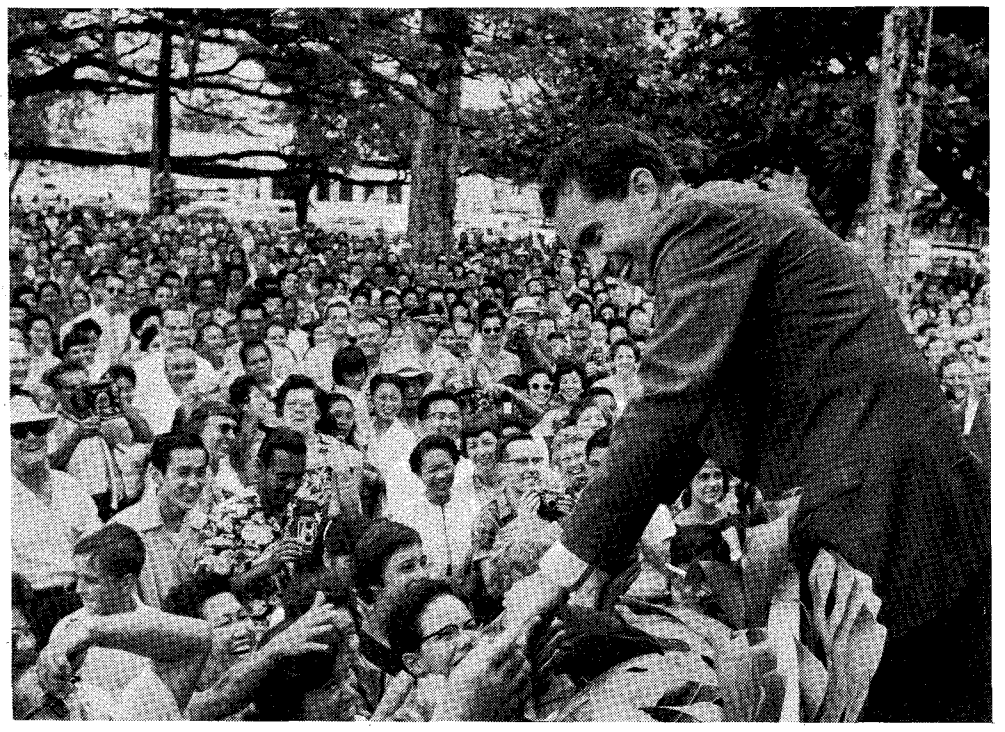
In addition, the direct election supporters argue that:

- It would be constitutionally impossible for the candidate with the most popular votes to lose to one with fewer.
- Direct election would invigorate the two-party system in sections where one party is now so firmly entrenched that the other has no incentive to win; thus campaigns would be conducted more evenly throughout all parts of the country.
- Lastly, and by no means least, the proponents point out that the direct election method would be much easier for voters to understand and would, this reasoning concludes, mean greater voter interest and participation in campaigns.

Arguments against the direct election system revolve around the status of the federal system and the concept of republicanism envisioned by the Founding Fathers.

Opponents fear that the direct plan would result in great loss of state's authority and increased centralization in Washington; especially the distinct possibility that the federal government would quickly usurp authority over voting regulations, enforcing uniform nationwide standards on voting age, residency and qualification. State political party organizations would also, quite obviously, become wholly dependent on the national party and the strongest voice in party affairs would go to those areas which could "deliver" the largest bloc of votes.

Voicing the sentiment behind such apprehensions, Sen. Spessard Holland (D.-Fla.) said in the Senate that the Direct Election Plan "is but another step—and one of the final steps—toward complete



In 1960, Richard Nixon received 49.55 per cent of the popular vote, but lost in the electoral college 303 to 219.

striking out of the picture and downgrading the states of the Union as separate unions, with separate strengths and representation as states as occurs in the Senate."

The Proportional Plan. This system (variations have been introduced in separate resolutions by Senators Smathers, Holland and Sparkman) would abolish the Electoral College in fact, but retain the principle of electoral votes. In each state the electoral votes would be divided proportionally (down to the one-thousandth of a vote) among the candidates according to popular vote statistics. The candidate with the most electoral votes nationally would be elected, providing he had at least 40 per cent of these votes. If no one received the required percentage, a joint session of Congress would pick the Chief Executive from among the two front-runners.

Had the Proportional Plan been used in 1960, Kennedy would have chalked up 266 electoral votes, with Nixon right on his heels with 264; other candidates would have received a total of seven.

Arguments offered in support of the Proportional Plan include:

- Electoral votes would come closer to reflecting the popular strength of candidates in each state.
- A candidate who led in popular vote could not lose in the Electoral College.
- The Proportional Plan might strengthen the two-party system, with votes available for both parties in all states.

Opponents of the Proportional Plan argue that:

- Third parties, in fact, would likely achieve a greater voice in the Electoral College.
- The will of the majority would not necessarily prevail and greater distortions would be possible, since each state would continue to have two electoral votes for its senators; as an example of this state-by-state inequity, in 1964 New York State voters cast 166,652 votes per electoral vote, while voters in Alaska cast 22,420 per electoral vote.

The Automatic Plan. This proposal was first forwarded by Sen. Gale McGee (D.-Wyo.) in 1965, and amounts to the abolition of the possibility of independent or unpledged electors. Retaining all basic features of the present Electoral College, the Automatic Plan would require each state's electors to cast their votes for the candidate carrying their state—with, as they say, no ifs, ands, or buts.

Debate on these wide-ranging proposed constitutional amendments will most likely continue for some months—in Congress and among the public. The most recent public sounding taken on the subject of electoral reform was a Gallup Poll, showing 64 per cent of the American public tested favored a direct election of President and vice president. Proponents of the other plans, however, argue that the public is not yet sufficiently informed on all the pros and cons to make a really intelligent choice.

Surprisingly, another poll found state legislators across the nation also favoring direct election. In the past, when electoral reform was discussed, many proponents were skeptical of getting state legislatures to ratify any sweeping constitutional amendments. A non-professional poll taken by Sen. Quentin Burdick (D.-N.D.) shows these fears might be unfounded.

Of the 2,500 responses to his 8,000 inquiries, 58.8 per cent of the state legislators polled said they favored abolition of the Electoral College and substitution of a direct election. This figure was not inflated by assents from large states, as 62.5 per cent of the Nevada legislators responding favored direct elections, 68.9 per cent in Vermont, 55.5 per cent in Wyoming, and 53.8 per cent in Delaware.

Second place in the Burdick poll was held by the Proportional Plan, with 21.2 per cent favoring this approach. The District Plan came in third with 10.2 per cent. Perhaps the most significant figure in the poll was the 9.7 per cent who favored continuation of the Electoral College system as it exists.

Whatever value is placed on the Burdick poll, the fact that the responses represent only one-fourth of the nation's state legislators should not be forgotten. Far more votes than this will be needed for any constitutional amendment to receive ratification.

About the only thing that is certain thus far in the debate over Electoral College reform is that everyone seems to want to do something. The nature and evolution of that "something" will bear watching by all American citizens over the next few months.

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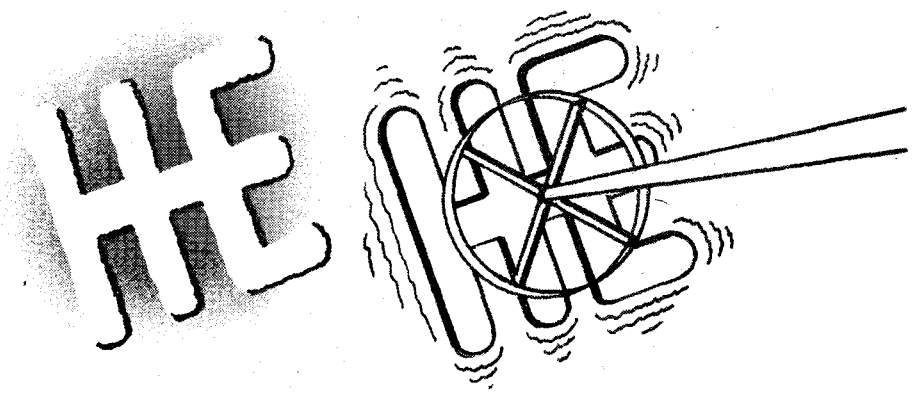

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The New Morality

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Recently I noted that an Eastern city was giving "the pill" to its high school lasses, and thus evoked a flock of letters. Some said failing to name the town indicated I had fabricated the item.

I usually throw my notes away after I've done a piece—as it is, I have to walk sideways in my den—so I couldn't answer at once. But I've just spent a day digging up the original yarn, and here's the gist:

Birth control pills are given "sexually active" high school girls by Sinai Hospital in Baltimore, according to Dr. Matthew Tayback, deputy health commissioner. The program is aimed at the "extremely large number of pregnancies among girls 16 and under," says Dr. Tayback, and adds—I assume proudly—"it is the only program of its kind in the country." The pills are prescribed after individual counseling and only with parental consent.

Now I don't say this solution to a difficult problem is wrong, and I am pleased that the parents have the final say. It shows the kids who's still boss around the house, and the experts agree that children feel loved only when their actions are approved by mama and papa.

But what of those parents whose Puritan ethics prevent their youngsters from enjoying childhood to the full? Will these underprivileged tots forever accept second-class citizenship? Ah, well, doubtless Dr. Tayback will think of something.

I keep reading and hearing about the New Morality and how wonderful it is. The race, say the savants, has finally come to fruition in this bumper crop of teen-aged geniuses presently adorning the scene. They are described as so brilliant that I can only wonder how we fuddy-duddies managed to spawn them.

Of course, there's historical precedent for precociousness: Athene sprang full-grown from the head of Zeus, to become almost at once goddess of counsel, of war and peace, law-giver and patron of the arts.

And in our own time, Bettina Aptheker already overshadows her father and has—at least in Berkeley—even more followers.

But in both instances the fathers themselves were famous, and it might be argued that Athene and Bettina simply inherited the genes of their illustrious sires. That would hardly account for the extraordinary number of current whiz kids, many of whom come from quite ordinary families.

My own theory is that the various nuclear explosions have so altered our normal genetic system that children are now born with the accumulated wisdom of the ages, and need not go through the painful trial-and-error period that we did. They know it all now.

I heard one of these young geniuses—well, not so young, for he was all of 16—expound his views on TV the other night. He thinks our society is a cartel of grasping business interests, distrusts the Warren Report, deems our Viet Nam policy monstrous, regards our marriage system as provincial, would like to try LSD—and despises Ronald Reagan.

He was, I may add, warmly applauded by the audience, and even the emcee—Louis Lomax, no less—was palpably delighted with the findings, especially the one about Reagan, whose election Mr. Lomax takes as a personal affront. It must be soul-satisfying indeed to have one's considered judgment backed by one's betters.

Not all my evenings, alas, are that intellectual. The other night a friend who has nine children—and a movie projector—invited me over for a showing of Walt Disney's *Pinocchio*.

It was a unique experience. The kids said, "Sir" to me, and they treated their parents not only with respect but with unmistakable fondness. And when the immortal Walt's film unrolled, it was rather wonderful to hear the gay laughter and screams of delight—from both generations.

I had a ball. But now that I think it over, can youngsters so brought up hope to hold their own in later life against the brilliant thinkers brought up permissively?

Maybe I'd better advise my friend to move to Baltimore.

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Needed: Cure for Cars

By PAUL HARVEY

Cars are clotting our arteries.

There are 95 million cars in the United States and more on the way; double the number 10 years ago. As frantically as our cities have been clearing and building parking facilities, the demand has continued to overwhelm the supply.

At this moment there are seven million cars driving around looking for a place to park and not finding any!

Desperate cities are trying to keep cars moving by abolishing curb parking, but that increases the need for more buses; now the curbside lanes are jammed with buses instead of cars.

The problem is not ours alone. If anything the traffic jam-up is worse in London, Tokyo, Rome, Madrid, Helsinki. Paris has turned the historic Place Vendome into a parking lot without easing the pressure.

Columbia, S.C., tried to rescue downtown by creating 550 more parking spaces in the past year, but there you park so far away you have to shuttle-bus downtown.

Los Angeles talks of parking garages *over* the city's expressways.

More garages, more parking lots, are a palliative, not a cure.

Somebody is going to have to think "way out" to resolve this riddle; way-way out!

Our cities tried with two million parking meters to give more motorists at least a little while at the curb.

But now, so desperate have big city motorists become that they are more and more ignoring parking meters. A nationwide study concludes that one in three cars now parked downtown at the curb is parked there illegally.

If meters are not the answer either, what is?

New York contemplates parking cars on water—on multiple-level barges in the river. That's a rubber glove remedy for a leaky pen.

Japanese law says you can't buy a car without a place to park it. That's curing dandruff with a guillotine.

There has to be a better way. If there is not, our Goliath cities will repeat the demise of the dinosaurs when they got too big to move and could not forage anymore.

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Proposition 14 Called 'Unconstitutional'

One More Step Toward Government by Judges

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

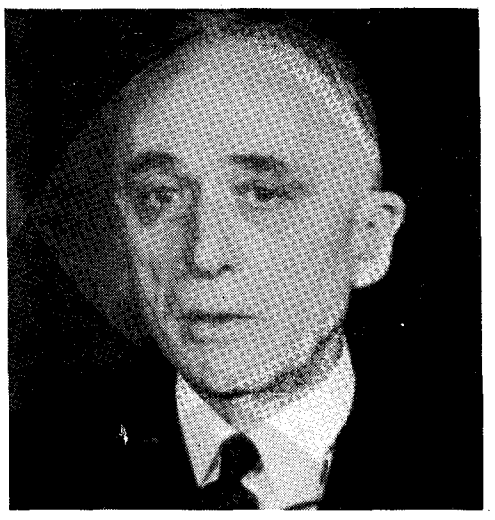
The 10th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution ordinarily is remembered, when it is remembered at all, as the "states' rights" amendment. The term is a misnomer. It ought properly to be known as the "reserved powers" amendment, but in the light of the Supreme Court decision on May 29, 1967, in the California case, we may refer to it henceforth simply as the Discarded 10th.

Until then, many of us truly had believed that not even the Warren Court could fail to honor the explicit meaning of the 10th. What the amendment says is that all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively "or to the people."

Those last four words strike to the very heart of popular government. Destroy them and the structure falls. What the court held is that the people of California, exercising their ultimate sovereignty, no longer have the power to amend their own state constitution in order to proclaim an elementary statement of property rights.

Five members of the high court—Warren, Douglas, Brennan, White and Fortas—substituted their own naked will for the expressed desire of more than 4.5 million Californians. Government by the people yielded on May 29 to government by the judges.

The facts in the case are well known. In 1963 the California Legislature adopted the Rumford Fair Housing Act. The law, intended to reduce racial discrimination, took away from the owners of certain residential property their right to sell or to lease as they wished. The opponents of the law thereupon initiated a referendum, known as Proposition 14, intended to nullify the Rumford Act and to write into California's supreme law a positive statement of every person's right "to decline to sell, lease or rent [his] property to such person or



Justice John M. Harlan was among the dissenters in the 5-to-4 decision. See box below for excerpts from his dissent.

persons as he, in his absolute discretion, chooses."

[Editor's note: Contrary to popular impression, Proposition 14 did not ban all laws forbidding discrimination in housing. All it did was to say that any person who has "real property"—defined as roperty "devoted to or limited for residential purposes"—can sell, lease or rent such property "to such person or persons as he, in his absolute discretion, chooses." The proposition specifically exempted from its provisions state-owned property, property acquired through emininent domain and public accommodations such as hotels or motels. The California Civil Code, furthermore, demands that no person shall be denied services in any business establishment because of race, color, religion, ancestry or national origin.]

Proposition 14 carried overwhelmingly in the 1964 election. Several Negro plaintiffs then brought suit to have the referendum declared void as a violation of the 14th Amendment. The California Supreme Court upheld their position. On May 29 the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed by a 5-to-4 vote.

To describe the majority's reasoning as bizarre is to put a useful word to an inadequate purpose. The majority's reasoning was simply incredible.

As the five justices saw it, California's constitutional declaration of a man's right to decline to sell his property amounted to "encouragement of racial discrimination by the state." Such a state power is prohibited by the 14th Amendment; it therefore cannot be exercised by the people through amendment of their basic law.

How Proposition 14 could be read as "encouragement" of racial discrimination is beyond comprehension. As Harlan said for the four dissenters, "the provision is neutral on its face." Its effect is merely to restore certain private behavior "to the sphere of free choice."

The Rumford Act established a special privilege for buyers. Proposition 14 took that special privilege away and left the law of property where it was before—in a condition where the buyer's right to buy is fairly balanced by the seller's right not to sell. If the people themselves cannot restore that right, how then is it ever to be restored?

The Supreme Court majority could not even find precedents to support its Olympian view. One cited case involved a railway; another involved a political party; a third involved a restaurant owned by a public parking authority in Wilmington; a fourth dealt with state statutes requiring segregation in restaurants.

Speaking for the majority, White feebly acknowledged that "none of these cases squarely controls the case we now have before us." The fact was that none of the cited cases remotely approached a California constitutional amendment dealing with free choice in the sale of private property.

In a concurring opinion Douglas reiterated his alarming view that rights of free choice no longer exist in any area, such as the sale of real estate, that is handled through agents licensed by the state. He has not yet been able to rally a majority of his brothers to this extremist position, but one finds small comfort in the fact. In its decision, the high court carried its obsessive egalitarianism to lengths that the framers of the 14th Amendment could never have conceived.

Harlan summed it up: By refusing to accept the decision of the people of California, and by contriving a new and ill-defined constitutional concept to allow federal judicial interference, "the court has taken to itself powers and responsibilities left elsewhere by the Constitution." This the high court had no right to do. But five of its members did it.

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NOT YET, ANYWAY—"Russia has signed the outer space treaty. That means they promise not to put any nuclear weapons on the Moon until they find out how."—By Jack Wilson in the Washington *Post*

Excerpts from Judge Harlan's Dissent

I consider that this decision, which cuts deeply into state political processes, is supported neither by anything "found" by the Supreme Court of California nor by any of our past cases decided under the 14th Amendment.

I am wholly at a loss to understand how this straightforward effectuation of a change in the California constitution is deemed a violation of the 14th Amendment, thus rendering Section 26[Proposition 14] void, and petitioners' refusal to rent their property to respondents, because of their race, illegal under prior state law.

The Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment, which forbids a state to use its authority to foster discrimination based on such factors as race, does not undertake to control purely personal prejudices and predilections, and individuals acting on their own are left free to discriminate on racial grounds if they are so minded.

By the same token, the 14th Amendment does not require of states the passage of laws preventing such private discrimination, although it does not of course disable them from enacting such legislation if they wish.

The core of the court's opinion is that Section 26 is offensive to the 14th Amendment because it effectively encourages private discrimination.

By focusing on "encouragement" the court, I fear, is forging a slippery and unfortunate criterion by which to measure the constitutionality of a statute simply permissive in purpose and effect, and inoffensive on its face.

A moment of thought will reveal the far-reaching possibilities of the court's new doctrine, which I am sure the court does not intend.

Every act of private discrimination is either forbidden by state law or permitted by it. There can be little doubt that such permissiveness—whether by express constitutional or statutory provision, or implicit in the common law—to some extent "encourages" those who wish to discriminate to do so.

Under this theory "state action" in the form of laws that do nothing more than passively permit private discrimination could be said to tinge all private discrimination with the taint of unconstitutional state encouragement.

I think that this decision is not only constitutionally unsound, but in its practical potentialities short-sighted.

Opponents of state antidiscrimination statutes are now in a position to argue that such legislation should be defeated because, if enacted, it may be unrepealable.

More fundamentally, the doctrine underlying this decision may hamper, if not preclude, attempts to deal with the delicate and troublesome problems of race relations through the legislative process. The lines that have been and must be drawn in this area, fraught as it is with human sensibilities and frailties of whatever race or creed, are difficult ones. The drawing of them requires understanding, patience and compromise, and is best done by courts.

By refusing to accept the decision of the people of California, and by contriving a new and ill-defined constitutional concept to allow federal judicial interference, I think the court has taken to itself powers and responsibilities left elsewhere by the Constitution.

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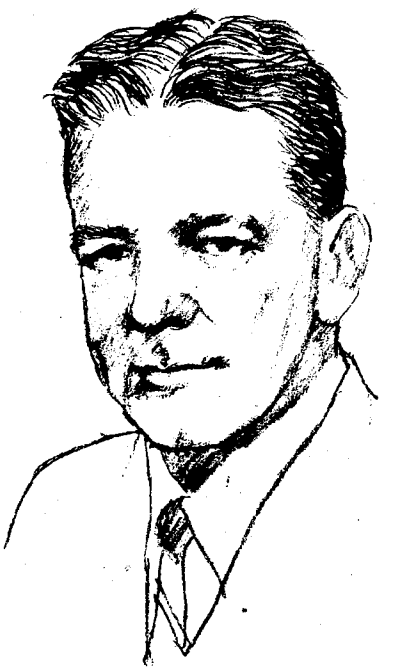

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'Long Hot Summer' Begins in Washington

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

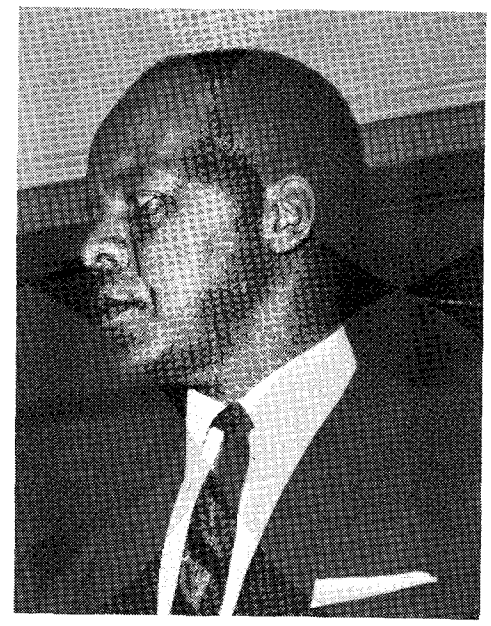
As if President Johnson did not have enough troubles, he is now faced with a Washington "civil rights" movement that has gone wild.

There was considerable concern when Stokely Carmichael, the "Black Power" and "death to the white man" advocate, announced that he would personally take over the nation's capital "lock, stock and barrel." This threat of a "long hot summer," personally superheated by Mr. Carmichael, sent the White House into a tizzy. After all, Washington is 65 per cent Negro, and "civil rights" anarchy could force Mr. Johnson into calling out the troops to maintain law and order.

There were hopes, however, that civil rights leaders would listen to reason, leaving to the Stokely Carmichaels only a lunatic fringe of bully-boys and beatniks. But any expectations that may have been harbored by the President in this regard have gone with the winds of hate after the most recent demagogic episode to shake this city.

The story, shocking though it may be, bears repeating because it demonstrates the nature of current "civil rights" agitation.

In Washington's predominantly Negro 10th Precinct, a Negro boy in a playground was allegedly molested by three Negroes. A Negro policeman came to the child's aid, ordering the men to leave the playground. Two of them reportedly assaulted the officer, threw him to the ground, and were attempting to strangle him. He drew his gun and shot his assailants. Note that everyone in this fracas was Negro and that the policeman said he was acting in defense of a child.



Threats of violence are often used weapons of civil rights militants Stokely Carmichael (left) and Julius Hobson.

This did not deter Julius Hobson, who heads ACT, an extremist "civil rights" group, from leaping into the fray. He immediately said that the Washington police had "declared open war on the Negro population," and urged the city's Negroes to buy guns in order to "protect" themselves. At the same time, demonstrations demanded disciplinary action against the Negro policeman, hospitalized as a result of the beating he had sustained.

The reaction in official Washington was one of bewilderment and despair. Race had not played a part in the episode. The policeman was defending a Negro child. Yet he and the entire police force were being accused of police brutality. The demonstrators, who should have commended the officer, were instead siding with the men accused of trying to "brutalize" one of their own people.

Given this state of mind, there seemed little hope in official circles that anything short of martial law could prevent mass outbreaks in Washington once the extremists got to work. Not that the majority of the city's Negroes support the Stokely Carmichaels. Half the private homes in Washington are owned by Negroes and many of them hold responsible government jobs. They want more police protection, not less.

But a minority, aided and abetted by misguided "civil rights" proponents, are hiding behind the advance alibis of well-meaning politicians—Vice President Hubert Humphrey among them. These people, who continue to find excuses for violence by blaming "social conditions," can put Washington to the torch if they are so disposed.

There are daily episodes of young people who riot or destroy property because they are unable to enter an already packed ball park or are not permitted to crash private parties. Until recent weeks Washington's liberal administrators took a permissive attitude toward these outbreaks and found reasons why no restraining force should be applied to what is plain and simple lawlessness, with no conceivable connection to "civil rights."

The concern by the White House, and by Administration officials, comes too little and too late. But the change of heart is real. The White House knows that widespread rioting, such as Stokely Carmichael is now threatening, will do nothing to enhance the President's popularity. If he allows it to go unchecked, he will be hurt by people who are fed up with actions that trample on *their* civil rights and endanger their lives. If he calls in the troops, as he will be forced to do if he wants to protect the city, he faces charges of "brutality"—or worse.

This is what has happened to a movement, originally well-motivated, which has been encouraged to violate the law and which is now controlled by extremists of the left.

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OCTOGENARIAN DEMOS—Top Democratic strategists are attempting to talk their two octogenarian senators into stepping down next year. But Carl Hayden (D.-Ariz.) and Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska) seem intent on running for re-election. "They don't have a chance," moans a leading Democratic pro.

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NEW CABINET PROPOSED—"A Cabinet-level official to deal with the crisis of food and people is proposed. Why not just lump Agriculture, Defense, State and everything else into one job and appoint a Secretary of Crisis?" —Senator Soaper Opines in the Omaha (Neb.) *Evening World-Herald*

The Cult of Violence

By HENRY HAZLITT

In a thoughtful and penetrating analysis in a recent issue of the *Saturday Review*, Joseph Wood Krutch speculates on how the revolt that began years ago against puritanism, prudery and censorship finally got to the present trend in Western literature, with its emphasis on perverse sexual indulgence, philosophical nihilism, sadism, cruelty, vandalism, violence, world-weariness and world-hatred.

We have got to the point, Krutch finds, where "a whole school of novelists . . . defines its conception of the good life as driving a stolen automobile at 90 miles an hour after a revivifying shot of heroin." Yet hardly anybody dares to say, "Don't be silly."

After a survey of recent movies, plays, novels and poems, Krutch concludes: "Seldom, if ever before, has any of the arts been so dominated by an all-inclusive hatred. Once the writer hated individual 'bad men.' Then he began to hate instead the society which was supposed to be responsible for the creation of bad men. Now his hatred is directed not at individuals or their societies, but at the universe in which bad men and bad societies are merely expressions of the fundamental evil of the universe itself."

Krutch's illustrations are confined to literature, a field that is surely wide enough for one essay. But he could have found the same tendencies if he had turned also to "modernism" in music and painting, with its vandalism in sound and vandalism on canvas.

Most ominous of all, he could have found it in the increasing resort to violence in our economic and political life.

When unions strike today they do not merely quit work. Their first step is to form a picket line. The purpose is physical intimidation. No one is to be offered and no one is to take the jobs that the strikers have voluntarily vacated. It is tacitly understood that if anyone attempts to cross that line without the consent of the pickets there will be vandalism and violence. The guilty will not be the pickets, but the persons who try to assert their right to continue their business.

The picket line, the "demonstration," the "march," the gathering of unmanageable "non-violent" mobs has long ceased to be the prerogative of strikers. Everybody now sets up picket lines for any purpose, to "protest" any evil, real or imaginary.

Students stage mob-protests to tell the trustees how to run the university—when to appoint, whom to promote, whom to fire, what rules to make or to repeal. Anti-war picket lines and mob demonstrations carry signs and hear speakers openly preaching sedition. It is understood that any attempt of the police to keep order will precipitate violence.

When riots break out in our great cities, leading to vandalism, looting, assault and sometimes killing, officials elected to preserve law and order hasten to excuse the riots on the ground that they were brought on by "poverty and despair." Sometimes these apologists go as far as Vice President Humphrey, who proudly announced, "I could lead a pretty good revolt myself."

The rebels are invariably praised for their dissent, their noncomformity and their boldness. But as Krutch wrote in his article: "In the atmosphere of the present moment, the boldest position a creative or critical writer could take would be one championing not only morality but gentility and bourgeois respectability."

One might add that, in the political and legal sphere, the boldest position a public official could take today would be one championing the maintenance of law and order, without apologies.

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One Vote for the Draft

By ALICE WIDENER

As if there were not enough intellectual confusion and political eccentricity in our country today, a new left-right united front has been formed to fight against the draft and propagandize in favor of a costly "voluntary" army. [See John Chamberlain's column in last week's *Human Events*, page 16.] The new left-right coalition has formed a "Council for a Volunteer Military" which is sponsored by such figures as Sanford Gottlieb, pacifist, left-wing intellectual and political action director of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy; Prof. Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago, economic adviser to Barry Goldwater; Norman Thomas, veteran pacifist Socialist; Karl Hess, speechwriter for Goldwater in the 1964 elections; James Farmer, former director of the left-wing Congress of Racial Equality; and Bruce K. Chapman, a founder of the Ripon Society, the Republican counterpart of Americans for Democratic Action.

In an editorial headed "About the Draft," William F. Buckley Jr.'s magazine *National Review* (May 30 issue) says that "libertarian conservatives" want to abolish the draft in our country and substitute a voluntary professional military force. Concerning libertarian conservatives holding this concept, *National Review* says "include us in."

Pardon me, folks, but please include me out. If this puts me beyond the pale of the new left-right council, regardless of its array of high-powered intellectual sponsors, then that is just fine with me.

I believe that though there may be some validity in holding philosophical discussions over the advisability of creating a volunteer professional American army, there is no present common sense in them and nothing good can possibly come from such a left-right alliance. (The leftists can score a valuable gain, of course, in winning access to rightists' mailing lists.)

In the new anti-draft coalition, Mr. Sanford Gottlieb says he and his fellow leftists can work to remove "the burden" currently imposed on youths objecting to the war in Viet Nam but unable to qualify as conscientious objectors. For his part, rightist Prof. Milton Friedman claims, "In a free system, I think we should use compulsion only when there's been a demonstrated need, and there has not been a demonstrated need in this case."

Says he, mind you, in the midst of the Viet Nam war and crisis in the Mid-East!

Both leftist Gottlieb and rightist Friedman say they would favor military conscription in a time of all-out war for the defense of the nation.

This shows how out of touch they are with reality, and how anachronistic is their thinking, dating back as it does to World War II circumstances and conditions. For if I have learned anything at all through being briefed as a civilian by Gen. Thomas Power, former commander-in-chief of our Strategic Air Command, by Adm. Arleigh Burke, former chief of Naval Operations, and by the late Gen. Douglas MacArthur, it is that in time of all-out war in the Atomic Age our nation will have to be defended by our military forces in being at a maximum time-warning of 15 to 30 minutes.

In a modern all-out war, there would be no time for and no means of conscripting a rookie army requiring months of basic training. Under selective service we are assured of having whatever number of military forces is deemed necessary for defense of our nation; under a voluntary system we have no such assurance.

Undoubtedly there are inequities in the present selective service system, as there are in any human institution and as there would be in a professional volunteer army organization. But in times like these, with violence and anarchy threatening everyone's peace at home and abroad, it is folly to abandon the draft and override the considered findings of four separate congressional and presidential commissions that studied the subject intensively and found in favor of the draft.

We need to count heads today and see who's who on which side. If we follow the impractical military advice of a left-wing council of eggheads, we could find ourselves scrambled into defenselessness.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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Our Viet Nam Allies

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

Most of the debates about the military conduct of the Viet Nam war seem to rest upon the assumption that the United States is alone in recognizing the importance of resisting Communist aggression in Southeast Asia and in committing its personnel and resources to that end.

But an up-to-the-minute survey of what the free world is doing in Viet Nam paints an altogether different picture.

Not surprisingly, the nations who feel their security most imminently threatened have assumed the most active role. Their contributions:

• **South Korea:** The victims of a similar Communist aggression in the last decade, the South Koreans have sent to South Viet Nam some 45,000 troops, including two combat divisions, a 130-man mobile surgical hospital, a 2,200-man task force unit and various instructors—a singularly impressive contribution for a nation of only 28 million.

• **The Philippines:** With a population of 32 million, the Philippines have dispatched a 2,000-man military engineering unit along with security support personnel, a station hospital and rural health and civic action teams.

• **Thailand:** The neighboring Thais are sending a 1,000-man independent force to Viet Nam this year. In addition to jet training for South Vietnamese pilots, the Thais have also sent a 200-man naval group and a 35-man air force contingent.

• **Malaysia:** Well experienced in the business of frustrating Communist insurgencies, the Malaysians have been conducting a counterinsurgency school for some 2,000 Vietnamese military and police officers since 1962.

• **Australia:** With 4,500 combat troops already in the field, the Australians are planning to send an additional 1,800 this year. Also already in Viet Nam are 100 combat instructors specializing in jungle warfare and a 73-man air force unit.

• **New Zealand:** New Zealanders have sent to the field a 125-man artillery battery of six howitzers and a 25-member army engineer detachment. A 210-man infantry company and supporting elements will join these forces this year.

BOOK NOTES

A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers

That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it, nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

THE EDITORS

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SOLDIERING FOR PEACE by Maj. Gen. Carl von Horn (McKay, 402 pages, $6.95).

Gen. von Horn, a Swedish Army officer, served in three posts for the United Nations between 1958 and 1963. He was chief of staff of the U.N. forces in Israel and later commander of U.N. troops in the Congo and Yemen.

Originally published in Swedish and only recently brought out in an English language edition, this book caused a great stir last year. **Human Events**, Nov. 12, 1966, reported:

"A former Swedish commander of the United Nations peace-keeping forces has published a sweeping indictment of the world body, claiming it is riddled with spies and corruption. Maj. Gen. Carl von Horn charges . . . that U.N. employes were engaged in all sorts of illicit activities, but that no one appeared willing to stop them.

"He said the United Nations' administrative section actually blocked his efforts to get rid of civilian employes active in smuggling, the black market, espionage and corruption because it abhorred 'having to agree that such things existed.' Gen. von Horn, who accused the administrative department of having 'foggy ideas about reality,' said the agency was 'filled with a passion for formalism and manned by people who became a swarm of angry bees when their hive was threatened by criticism.'

"Gen. von Horn said he resigned from his last post as head of the U.N. observer group in Yemen after only two months, because the 'whole situation was a farce.' After asking for more men, he was told to 'stop complaining and get on with your work.' When Secretary-General U Thant said his comments were unjustified, von Horn quit. 'This admonitory message from U Thant was the last straw. I tendered my resignation, a resignation which I was asked to explain so that no undesirable publicity would result.'"

THE TEMPER OF OUR TIME by Eric Hoffer (Harper & Row, 111 pages, $3.95).

"The thinking longshoreman, Eric Hoffer, certainly one of the most remarkable intellectuals in America, has a new slender book, **The Temper of Our Time,** full of the provocative, aphoristic comment, and sometimes wisdom, characterizing him since his first book, **The True Believer.** It has its share, too, of fallacious assumptions and dogmatic spark-striking assertions that make one bristle and rise to argue. But the effect is exhilarating, like cold wind, and the book is highly rewarding. It forces thought as a strong draft forces flame. . . .

"We agree with him about many things, but think he is wildly unsound about the masses. He regards them as a rich mine of excellence and unawakened genius—an error if only because excellence and genius are by nature rarities. Indeed, they can and do spring from the masses, but he builds false expectations and assumptions upon that happy fact. He thinks himself, for example, a far less exceptional man than he is. . . .

"Yet all he says stimulates. He is very good on the theme of the psychological impact of drastic change as a factor in modern behavior. 'We used to think that revolutions are the cause of change,' but instead, he argues, 'change prepares the ground for revolution.'

"His essay on the Negro revolution is brilliant, harshly true and calculated to infuriate civil rights leaders, but it contains some of the most honest speaking and best sense on the Negro's future and his way to self-realization that we have ever read."—Edmund Fuller in the **Wall Street Journal.**

THE KINGSPORT STRIKE by Sylvester Petro (Arlington House, 238 pages, $5).

"This book has two purposes," states the author in the preface, "first to tell the story of a long and immensely significant strike; second, on the basis of the sad and tragic facts disclosed in that story, to stimulate a re-examination of the labor policies of the United States. For the tragedy of this strike was produced by those labor policies and by the ideas, mainly fallacious, which underlie them."

The strike by employes of Kingsport (Tenn.) Press began in 1963, and still smolders. Prof. Petro has visited Kingsport and reports here on the impact the strike has had on the lives of strikers and non-strikers alike. In addition, as one of the country's foremost experts on labor law, he brings keen insight to bear on the problems posed by this strike and by the general excesses of Big Labor.

THE POLITICAL ASSASSINATION OF ROBERT A. TAFT by Gerald Schomp (Allegiance Books, 4561 N.W. 3rd Place, Plantation, Fla., 244 pages, $2.95). Order directly from publisher.

Mr. Schomp gives us a well researched and tightly written account of how Sen. Taft—"Mr. Republican"—went into the 1952 GOP convention with enough delegates "locked up" to insure his nomination, and emerged the sad and broken victim of the Eastern liberal wing of the Republican party.

"I like Taft," the saying went, "but he can't win." How strangely familiar this slogan sounds. Substitute "Nixon" or "Reagan" for "Taft" and you can see how the GOP liberals are trying to make history repeat itself in 1968. This book is well worth the consideration of those who would like to nominate a GOP conservative next year.

THE CASE FOR FREE CHINA, Edited by Anthony T. Bouscaren (Crestwood Books, Box 2096, Arlington, Va., 206 pages, $3.45). Order directly from publisher.

This collection of 10 essays, edited by Prof. Bouscaren of Le Moyne College, includes contributions by former Rep. Walter Judd, Yale's David Rowe and Chiang Kai-shek. During the next installment of the perennial drama—whether or not to seat Red China—have this volume at hand to help separate fact from fancy about the relative claims to legitimacy of the "two Chinas."

THE TWO FACES OF CO-EXISTENCE by Alfred Berzius (Robert Speller & Sons, 335 pages, $6).

Mr. Berzius was a minister in the last free government of Latvia before the 1940 Communist take-over. Attempting to escape from his homeland, Berzius was captured by the Nazis in 1941 and spent 34 months in a concentration camp. From his experience he writes of tactics of stealth and deceit by which the Soviet juggernaut took over the Baltic states without ever a shot being fired. This work would be a powerful tonic for those within and outside of our government who prattle about "peaceful coexistence," "building bridges" and the like.

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How to Save Tax Money On Your Local Schools

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

This is for those of you who are afflicted with the *Nyet* Syndrome when it comes to education's rapidly increasing costs. First, a few gentle questions:

Are school taxes bleeding you? Do you wince, cringe and rattle like a shocked sidewinder every time your local board of education calls a special revenue election? Are you reading up on how to organize a taxpayers' strike?

Cool it, fellow sufferers. There are lots of ways to make education less expensive, or at least more economical. And without putting Tommy and Susan in tents, either. Here are some practical suggestions, if you'd like to pass them on to your favorite school board member, who incidentally and probably won't appreciate your helpfulness quite as much as you think he ought to. Alas.

1. Plan far, far ahead. At least two decades. Latch onto your future school sites 20 years before they're going to be needed. You'll be surprised how little the land will cost you now, comparatively speaking, and how greedily it will gulp down the tax dollars later on. And don't say your crystal ball is clouded. It'll work if you look into it long and prayerfully.

2. When you plan a school building, give it an arbitrary maximum life expectancy of 30 years and build it accordingly. By 1997, educational techniques will have changed so greatly that any school built in 1967 will be as out of date as a Stutz Bearcat.

Just to show you what happens when school board members insist upon building expensive monuments to themselves for their grandchildren to marvel at, instead of putting up relatively inexpensive educational workshops for one generation of children, let me tell you that I've personally visited Midwestern schools erected out of blocks of living granite during the Administration of the late U.S. Grant and still full of children today.

Holy Rameses! They might just as well send the kids to school in Grant's Tomb.

3. Automate record keeping, attendance accounting, payroll compiling and over-all business procedures in your local school office. Oh, it'll cost you temporarily in new equipment, but it will save you so much money in salaries you'll be able to afford all sorts of important things you'd like to buy now but can't. Maybe solid gold goal posts for the new football stadium. Or even a new Cadillac for the winning coach, if it comes to that.

4. Appoint citizens' committees to work with your school board in riding herd on fiscal needs and writing up the guidelines for bond and tax elections. Include a few starry-eyed idealists to think big and an equal number of Ebenezer Scrooges to act as watchdogs of the treasury. Strangely enough, it works. You'll get good schools at bargain prices.

5. Don't insist, Mom, upon huge dinosaurish buses rolling up quietly and expensively to your very doorstep twice every day to pick up and deliver Junior like a freckle-faced carton of Grade A milk. Some bussing is necessary these days, what with traffic hazards and all. But bussing just to spare Junior a three or four-block walk along a peaceful neighborhood street to a central pickup point is not only unnecessary, but costly as all get-out. And an active roadblock in the path of the President's physical fitness program, besides.

6. Put merit pay into your schools so your finest, most inspirational teachers will be paid extra. You won't spend less money this way, but you'll certainly get your money's worth for what you do spend.

Yes, there are lots of ways to cut school spending. The trouble is that so many folks, school people as well as terrified taxpayers, tend to get emotionally carried away when a school revenue election goes down the drain. They're apt then to start giving the ax to such things as kindergartens, counseling services and even athletic competition.

Part of the time this is due to sheer panic and honest ignorance.

But a lot of the time it's due to a kind of childish "nyaah-nyaah" desire to get even with those hard-headed "No" voters. We'll show 'em, by golly! We'll cut where it hurts.

It's not the voters you get even with this way. Unfortunately.

It's the kids.

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Curious Visitor

From the Arizona *Republic*

Observers think it is more than a coincidence that on the day before Josef Stalin's daughter Svetlana landed in New York, Vasily F. Sanko, a Russian strong-arm man experienced in dealing with defectors, arrived in New York as part of a 23-man Soviet diplomatic delegation to the United Nations.

State Department press spokesman Robert J. McCloskey confirmed that Sanko had arrived. But he did not speculate whether Sanko's visit was connected with the defection from Russia of Svetlana Alliluyeva. And he declined to link Sanko with a celebrated defection case in Australia in 1954.

At that time, Sanko abducted Mrs. Vladimir Petrov, wife of a Soviet diplomat who defected, and forced her onto a plane at Sydney. She was finally rescued by Australian agents when the plane stopped at Darwin.

Why was Sanko sent to the United States at this time?

□ □ □

Permanently Temporary?

From the San Diego *Union*

The truism that figures can be used to prove nearly anything is being demonstrated again as Congress considers raising the national debt limit by $29 billion.

Here are some facts Congress should consider. The $14 billion in annual interest on the national debt is as much money as Congress returns to cities. Three years of the interest costs could more than build an operational anti-missile system or construct a supersonic transport prototype.

Congress can prevent another large debt boost next year only by pruning severely the proposed 26 per cent increase in nondefense spending now.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Where's That TFX?

By REP. JAMES McCLURE (R.-Idaho)

A few days ago, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara announced that the General Dynamics Corp. of Fort Worth, Tex., had been awarded a $1.8-billion contract for initial production of the controversial TFX fighter-bomber, now called the F-111. We first heard of the TFX in 1962. Five years have gone by and there still is no plane. A majority of congressional experts and military men feel there is still a need for an advanced manned fighter-bomber to replace the aging B-52. And the Pentagon admits the costs have at least doubled from the original prediction. It never ceases to amaze me how every time this Administration saves the taxpayer money, we somehow go deeper in debt.

Foreign Aid Drain

By REP. WILLIAM H. HARRISON (R.-Wyo.)

U.S. payments to the United Nations since the U.N.'s inception total $2.9 billion—narly half of its $6-billion expenditure. The United Nations has delinquencies of $167 million in regular and "peace-keeping" expenditures. Of the 117 nations in the U.N., 108 were delinquent. Of these, 96 receive foreign aid from the United States and their delinquencies total $65 million. The Soviet Union owes $76 million and other Red bloc nations owe $27 million. Through 1966 the United States has paid 43 per cent of all United Nations expenditures. It is my belief that foreign aid should be consistent with foreign policy and that nations owing had better pay up.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

Bills

• The legislation to be introduced by Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.), to deter the Administration's "bridge-building" policy toward Communist countries, has been given complete support by the House Republican leadership. The **Fino Amendment**, which the Bronx congressman plans to tack onto a routine bill extending the life of the U.S. Export-Import Bank, would serve to prevent the Ex-Im, an institution financed by the taxpayer, from directly or indirectly subsidizing projects in Communist countries. One controversial program the Fino Amendment would halt is the Fiat automobile company's proposed plan to build a factory, courtesy of an Ex-Im loan, in the Soviet Union.

• The **Elementary Education Bill** (S 1125), the House passage of which was reported in last week's Human Events, has now been taken up by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare's education subcommittee. Senate liberals, with wholehearted Administration encouragement, are launching a determined campaign to strike from the bill the House amendments added by Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.); the two Green amendments, both restricting the powers of Education Czar Harold Howe, transfer controls over education from the federal to the state level. Administration Democrats in the Senate can also be expected to attempt restoring the Teachers Corps program, a $36-million federally controlled project stricken by the House.

• The **Rent Supplements Appropriations Bill** (HR 9960) is now in the hands of the Senate Appropriations Committee which will reportedly deliberate on the controversial measure for most of the month of June. In a rousing defeat for LBJ & Co., the House voted 232 to 171 (see Human Events, May 27, 1967) to bar the Administration from signing new rent supplement contracts. If Senate liberals succeed in resurrecting the project, the bill would next go to a joint House-Senate conference where a compromise measure (most likely resulting in a continuation of the program) would be ironed out. For the rent supplement program to be killed completely, it must be rejected by the Senate.

• The House Education and Labor Committee has reported the **Situs Picketing Bill** (HR 100) and floor debate is due to start very soon. This measure has been designated organized labor's No. 1 legislative project of the 90th Congress, principally because it would allow a striking union to mass-picket a construction site and bar members of non-striking unions from going to work; such practice is presently forbidden under a 1951 Supreme Court decision outlawing secondary boycotts.

• The Senate subcommittee considering the Administration's **Air Pollution Control Bill** (S 780) has completed hearings and it should soon see the light of day on the Senate floor. As proposed, the bill would authorize the secretary of health, education and welfare to set standards for maximum air pollution emission, pick the industries to which to apply these standards and fine anyone who does not comply $1,000 per day.

• The Public Television Act, which passed the Senate in mid-May, has been renamed the **Public Broadcasting Act** (HR 6736) and is now the subject of hearings before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee (instead of the Education and Labor Committee, as erroneously reported in the May 27 Human Events). By providing financial assistance to non-commercial radio and TV broadcasting facilities and establishing a non-profit corporation to subsidize "educational" television programs, this legislation would move the government into a strong position to dictate the material broadcast over the airwaves.

• Sen. Robert Griffin's bill (S 1353) to **abolish the National Labor Relations Board** represents the most important move thus far in the 90th Congress to curb the tyrannical power of Big Labor. Seven colleagues have publicly sponsored Griffin's measure to do away with the NLRB which some critics have accused of being an AFL-CIO adjunct and substitute a U.S. labor court, similar to the Tax Court, to make decisions in important labor-management disputes.

• Both the House and Senate Judiciary Committees are now considering the Administration's **Omnibus Civil Rights Bill** (S 1026 and HR 5700). The most significant provision of the bill is an "open housing" provision almost identical to that rejected by the 89th Congress because of its infringement on private property rights. Under the 1967 bill's housing section, by Jan. 1, 1969, the government would be empowered to legally prohibit racial and religious discrimination in all forms of housing, including rental of rooms in private homes. Another controversial provision would make the presidentially appointed Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, rather than the courts, the initial arbiter in cases involving alleged discriminatory practices.

ADA for GOP?

By REP. PAUL FINO (R.-N. Y.)

I have recently noted press reports that the Americans for Democratic Action—also known as the ADA—have admitted their willingness to run down the ropes of the sinking ship of the Democratic party and come on board with the Republicans if only we will adopt their international policy of appeasement.

Now I am not one who happens to agree fully with the President's policies in Viet Nam. I think they have been poorly conceived and executed, and I wish we had not gotten involved in the first place, but all this notwithstanding, I am 100 per cent opposed to the idea that we pack up and run. Running is the ADA way, but it is not the Republican way—and it is not the American way.

I hope that the President will send the ADA a note in his own colorful language, which will tell them where to go and what to do. They are nothing but a bunch of whiners.

Recently, my colleague from New York [Rep. Richard McCarthy (D.)], made a speech on the floor suggesting that the National Rifle Association lose its tax-exempt status because it has allegedly encouraged people to arm themselves and practice with their weapons. I suggest that the gentleman take a good look at the ADA, which has been inciting bloodshed in the slums and betrayal in Southeast Asia for month after month with impunity.

Reds and Crime

By REP. ROBERT L. F. SIKES (D.-Fla.)

Crime and violence in the streets go hand in hand. Usually one leads to the other, and indifference to either can be fatal to the future of this nation. America cannot stand many more summers of violence and winters of discontent. Unfortunately, the press media, and particularly the television channels, are open to every troublemaker who preaches violence, race hatred, or even treason and this aggravates the problem. The spectacle of a sit-in by beatniks and antiwar demonstrators at the Pentagon is revolting, but the fact that it took two days for the authorities to muster sufficient courage to throw them out is equally disturbing. During the time they were in the Pentagon, they claim they had access to top secret areas. These are not harmless manifestations of excess spirit. There is a sinister thread of Communist influence which extends throughout the pattern of resentment of authority and indifference to citizenship responsibility which is being exhibited in the United States.

Double Taxation

By REP. JAMES CLEVELAND (R.-N. H.)

The President proposes not only to tax Social Security benefits even though the beneficiary already paid taxes over the years on his Social Security—he would also remove present tax allowances for those over 65 in higher brackets. This looks like double taxation to me. The same income would be taxed first when it was earned and second, when it was paid out in Social Security benefits. Assistant Treasury Secretary Stanley Surrey said the aim of the proposed re-shuffle was to "improve the tax treatment of the elderly." And he said, "to simplify"; but the proposal is so complex that only a group of actuaries or Philadelphia lawyers can actually decipher it.

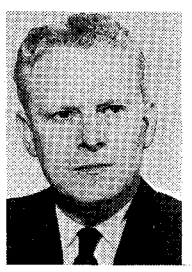
Let Oldsters Work

By REP. ROBERT V. DENNEY (R.-Neb.)

A Social Security recipient between 65 and 72 should be entitled to earn at least $2,500 without anything being taken away from his Social Security check. It has been my experience that many senior citizens are at the prime of their mentality between the ages of 65 and 72, based on the experiences that they've had in the business world, and we should not put them out to pasture, so to speak. And if they are able to earn money, they should be allowed to work. We need them in our economy and therefore I've asked in my bill that they be entitled to earn at least $2,500 before anything is deducted from their check.

Campaign Financing

By SEN. ALBERT GORE (D.-Tenn.)



The 1966 presidential campaign fund law contained no safeguards as to where, how and when the huge sums of money would be spent. Moreover, it did nothing whatever to regulate private contributions or eliminate the practice by which special interests seek special treatment through large contributions to candidates. In my opinion, this law made a bad situation worse. I was pleased that the Senate supported my view after so long a fight, and I hope the House will concur.

Repeal of last year's unsound law is only the first step. The Congress must now proceed to deal effectively with the problem of eliminating the improper influence of money in federal elections. Campaign costs are now so high that there is increased opportunity for large contributors to seek—and gain—special favor at the hands of government. Current campaign financing practices gnaw like a cancer at the most vital function of our self-government processes.

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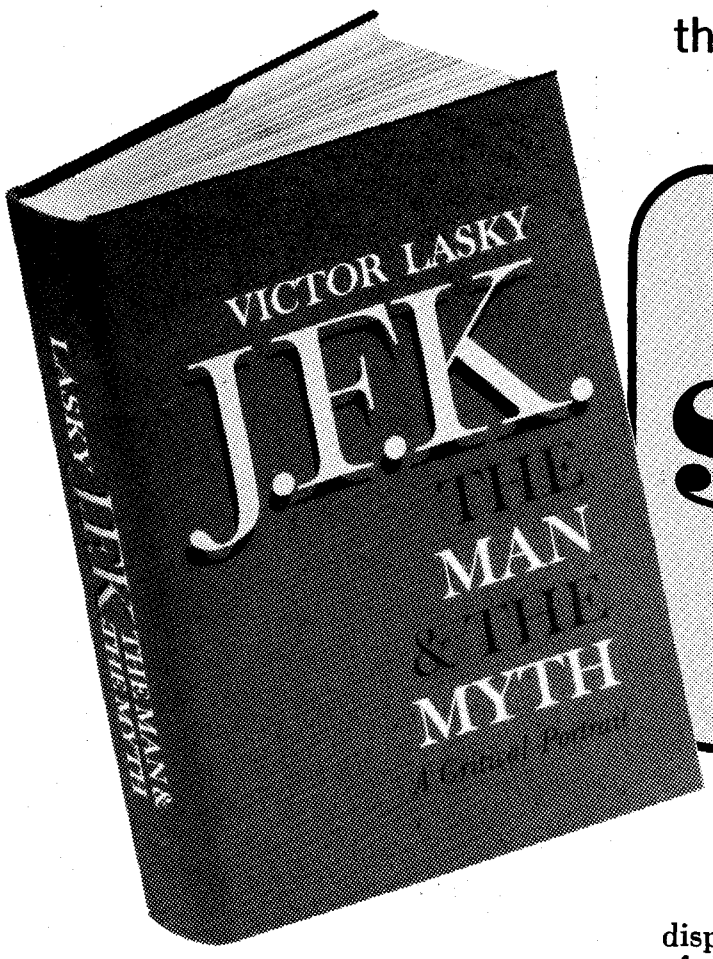

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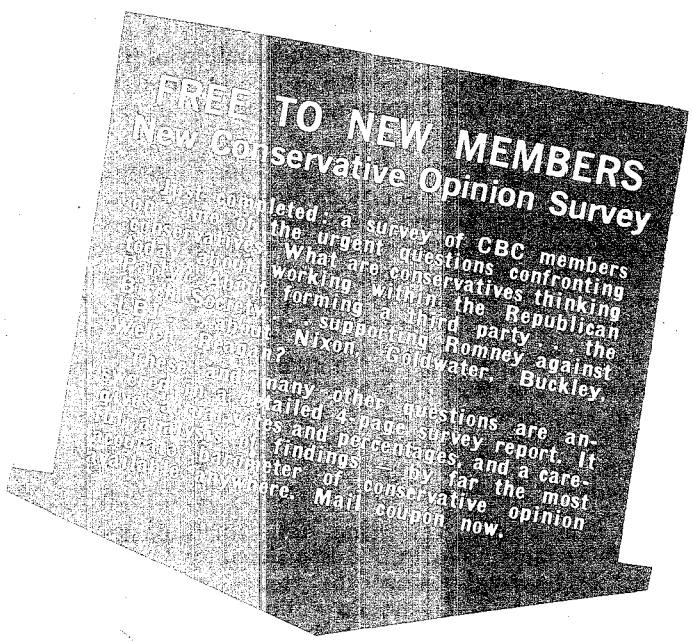

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